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AN  
(GREENE, N.)  
CALDWELL





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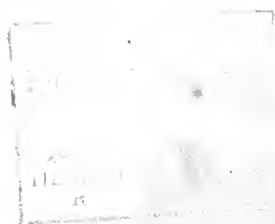


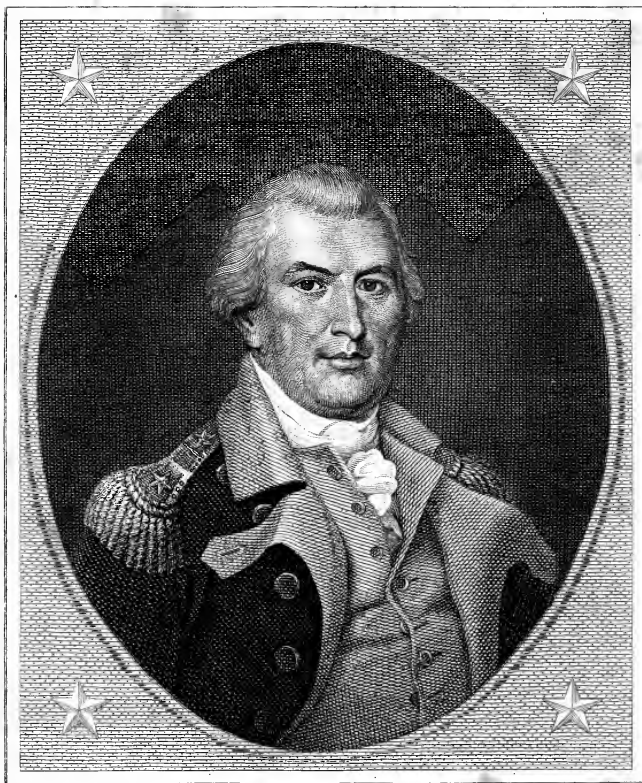
Greene, Nath  
# Caldwell

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*Genl. Noyes & Philad.*

MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup>. GREENE.

*Published May—1819, by R. Desilver Walnut St. & T. Desilver Decatur St.*

# MEMOIRS

OF

## THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF THE

**HON. NATHANIEL GREENE,**

MAJOR GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND COMMANDER OF THE  
SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT, IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY CHARLES CALDWELL, M. D.

PROFESSOR OF NATURAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY ROBERT DESILVER, NO. 110 WALNUT STREET,

AND THOMAS DESILVER, NO. 2, DECATUR STREET.

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1819.

**EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to wit:**

**BE IT REMEMBERED**, that on the 31st day of May, in the forty-third year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1819, Robert and Thomas Desilver of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

Memoirs of the Life and Campaigns of the Hon. Nathaniel Greene, Major General in the Army of the United States, and Commander of the Southern Department in the War of the Revolution. By Charles Caldwell, M. D. Professor of Natural History in the University of Pennsylvania.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

**DAVID CALDWELL,**

*Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.*





TO THE

**SURVIVING OFFICERS**

OF

**THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY,**

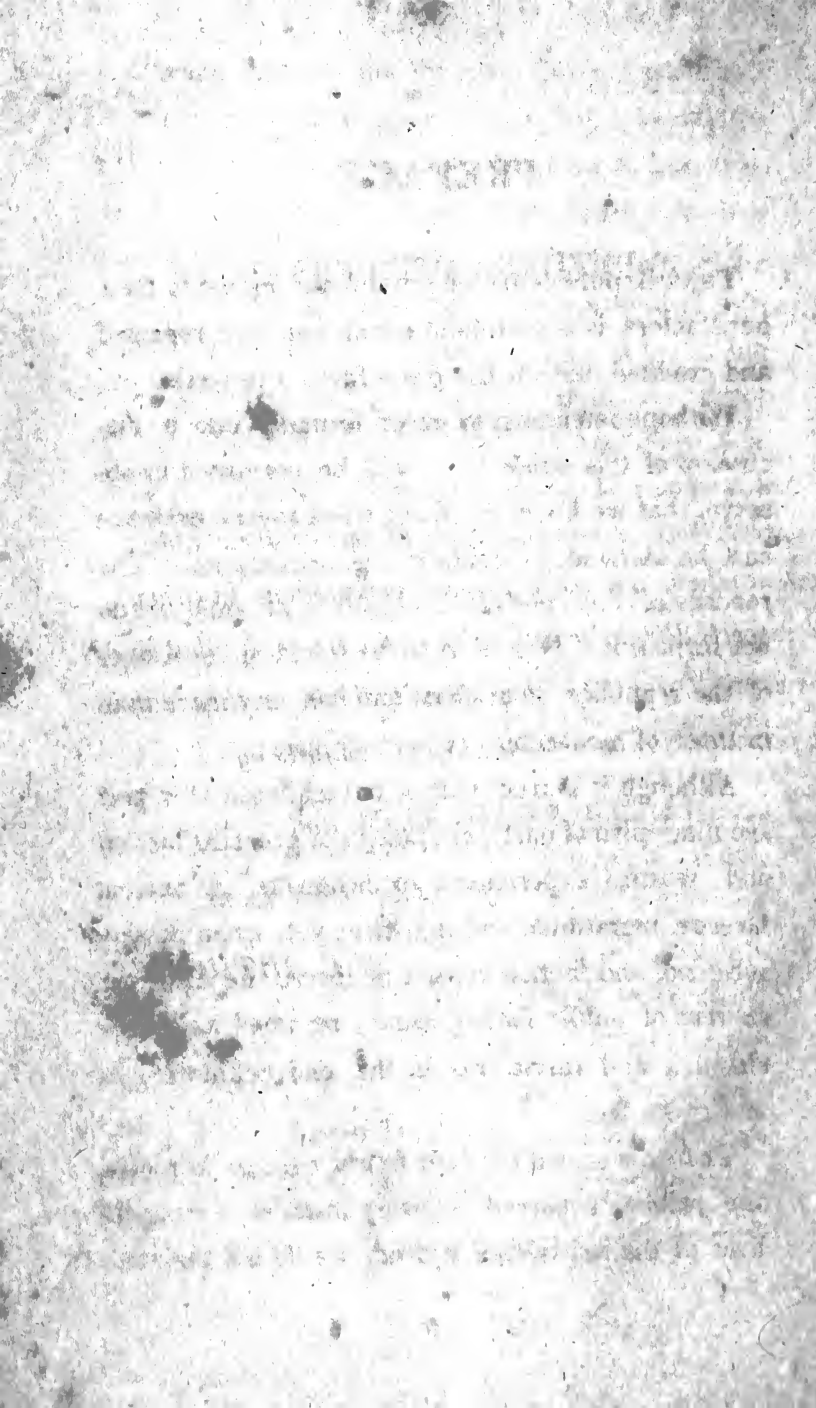
*This work, commemorative of one of their ablest commanders, and most beloved companions in arms, is respectfully dedicated, with a sincere wish, that in the evening of a life of patriotism and honour, they may be permitted to repose in the lap of comfort, by*

*Their very humble and*

*Obedient servant,*

**THE AUTHOR.**

Philadelphia, June 1st, 1819.



## PREFACE.

**THAT** Republics are ungrateful and unjust to their benefactors, is a sentiment which has been repeated and credited, until it has passed into a proverb.

Without intending to enter formally into a discussion of this subject, we will be permitted to observe, that we know not from what source evidence can be derived to confirm the accusation. The records of the celebrated republics of antiquity do not furnish it. Nor is it to be found in the usages of the republics of modern Europe, any more than in those of monarchies or aristocracies.

Although it is true, that in consequence of a persecuting spirit of party, characters of great distinction and worth, experienced occasionally in ancient Greece, ingratitude and injustice; yet, when passion subsided, and faction ceased to govern the state, the current of public feeling usually resumed its proper channel, and merit was in the end acknowledged and rewarded.

That this return of their fellow citizens to reason and justice, occurred, in every instance, during the lives of the individuals injured, we do not maintain.

But, when that was not the case, death, from whatever cause it might arise, rarely failed to subdue and propitiate their enemies, heighten and confirm the zeal of their friends, and procure for their memories, all that their warmest admirers could wish.

Under these circumstances, if the enraptured poet refused or neglected to celebrate them in verse, the sober historian supplied his place, while the painter or the statuary willingly aided, in recalling their images, and perpetuating their fame. To render the tribute the more complete, the labours of the four were oftentimes united.

As a single but striking instance, from the numbers that are on record, the conduct of the Athenians, in relation to Socrates, might be adduced in proof of what we have here stated.

To the case of the illustrious benefactors of Rome, similar observations may be correctly applied. Whatever might be the severities of their treatment, during life, death procured for them justice and renown. The same tongues that had defamed them, while faithfully engaged in the service of the commonwealth, praised them in the tomb; and the very hands that had wielded the weapons of their destruction, were not backward in rearing their monument.

Brutus eulogized Cæsar, after he had assassinated him; and Lepidus, one of the triumvirate that voted his death, is said to have written a panegyric on Cicero. Eminent benefits conferred on the state, whether in a civil or military capacity, were sure passports to bronze or marble, to the praises of the orator, to history, or the canvass.

Of the affairs of Carthage our information is less extensive, and perhaps less accurate.

Limited, however, as it is, we derive from it a certainty, that during life, wealth and influence were the usual reward of those, who distinguished themselves in the wars and councils of the republic; that their families were often ennobled, on account of their services; and, that after death, although frequently inflicted by violence and injustice, general mourning and public honours bore testimony to their worth.

By the gratitude of Switzerland, Tell, for his services, was all but canonized; and his posterity distinguished by the favours of the state.

We perceive, then, no cause to believe, that in the nature of a republic, there is any thing peculiarly calculated, to render it either ungrateful or unjust to individuals, by whom its interests have been ably promoted. Were a blemish so deep inevitably

attached to it, the fact would constitute a weighty objection against the reputed advantages of that form of government, and render doubtful its preference to others. For, whether they be found in a public institution, or in the hearts of individuals, the failings alleged imply a flagrant violation of right. It may be safely added, however, that, wherever they predominate, they arise much more from some defect in the moral constitution of man, than from any thing peculiar in the civil compact.

To proclaim the faults of our own country, is painful and mortifying. But whether we speak, or write, or act, truth should be our object. And it cannot be denied, that to the people and government of the United States, the vices of injustice and ingratitude to public benefactors, are more deeply imputable, than to those of any other nation.

This is true, in a more especial manner, in relation to posthumous honour and reward. Although living characters of high distinction suffer repeatedly, in this country, from the coldness of neglect and the bitterness of calumny, they are seldom without cause endangered in their persons or driven into exile. But, contrary to the usages of the ancient republics, those, to whose wisdom and toils we are indebted for many of our choicest privileges and most valuable enjoy-

ments, are suffered to repose unnoticed in the grave. While even the savage dwells with fond admiration on the names of the warriors and sachems of his tribe, and carefully interweaves their stories in his traditions, we permit the deeds of our most illustrious benefactors to be swept from remembrance by the current of time, and irrevocably consigned to the waves of oblivion.

To inquire into all the causes of this neglect is not our intention. The exemption of our country from war, and the general felicity of our situation, rendering us less dependant on the benefactions of great men, constitute one of them. But the most operative and fruitful of them is, our want of a genuine spirit of patriotism.

Did we love our country to the extent we profess to do, we would love and cherish every thing that might minister to its greatness and glory. But the richest source of a nation's glory consists in the illustrious natives of its soil. While we continue to neglect these, in vain will we boast of our national spirit and national pride. They are little better than empty sounds. Patriotism holds no alliance with apathy and indifference. It is an active and comprehensive virtue, which essentially influences life and conduct. It is a love of all that constitutes

country; and is defective in those, who are indifferent to the reputation of their distinguished fellow citizens, especially such of them as have been public benefactors.

This fatal deficiency in the United States, induces us to direct our admiration abroad, and fix it too much on distant objects. Dazzled by the glitter of foreign countries, much of which is artificial and perishable, we are blind to the less ostentatious but more substantial merits of our own.

This is true, in relation more especially to our sentiments of distinguished military men. On the heroes of Europe, who fulminate at the head of powerful armies, we bestow a degree of homage to which they are not entitled, and deny justice to some of those of America, who, on every principle of fair competition, have a stronger claim to renown, from having effected more with feebler means.

That this charge is founded in truth, may be abundantly proved from the histories of most of our revolutionary officers.

In relation to general Greene, in particular, so marked has been our indifference, and so unrelenting our neglect, that they are a reproach to the nation.

Near forty years have elapsed, since that great and excellent man rescued the south from the sword of



the invader; and upwards of thirty, since he descended to the grave. Yet where has been the gratitude, the justice, or even the courtesy of his country? while the people of the United States have been enjoying the privilege of independence, and basking in the sunshine of freedom, which he, by the force of his genius and the toil of years, contributed to establish, his life and achievements have remained unnoticed. Nor does the evil terminate here. No inconsiderable portion of the materials necessary to complete his biography have been lost, through the negligence of those to whom they were entrusted.

In various parts of the country, individuals are known to have been in possession of volumes of his official letters, some of which no doubt contained interesting information, on the subject of his campaigns. But, on the strictest inquiry, few of these documents are now to be found. Most of his contemporaries having also passed away, tradition itself, in relation to him, is much less fertile than comports with his merit and extensive services.

That the historians of the revolutionary war have spoken of him repeatedly and creditably, is true; because, without some account of his military operations, their narratives would have been defective. But, that they have done him justice, will not be

maintained, by any one that has looked into the transactions of his life. As is too often the case, in the partial administration of human affairs, much of the fame that belonged to him, has been arbitrarily passed to the credit of another.

That we have ourselves succeeded in doing justice to his memory we do not venture to believe. On this point, however, we will be permitted to lay claim to the humble merit, of honest intention and sedulous endeavour. We have spared neither trouble, nor cost—having written very many letters, visited many distant individuals, and travelled more than a thousand miles—to procure information; and all that was made accessible to us we have faithfully used. To Mr. Christopher Greene of Rhode Island, brother to the general, with whom we had an interview, we are indebted for several interesting facts. Under this head we shall only add, that we hope we shall not be accused of vanity for believing, or arrogance for asserting, that there are few persons living, who can attentively peruse this volume, without knowing much more of general Greene, on closing, than they did on opening it. The documents and other sources from which we have derived our information, are as ample and authentic as any now existing.

If, in speaking of the characters and exploits of Greene and his officers, we should be thought to have occasionally substituted the language of panegyric for that of cool and dispassionate biography, it is because the nature of the subject demanded it. Splendid actions and exalted qualities, cannot be represented in humble expressions. As well might we attempt to depict the rainbow in faded colours. Nor have we yet learnt the art of disguising our feelings, when excited by objects that fire the imagination, or when treating of topics which appeal to the heart. This is more especially the case, if the subject have a reference to any thing connected with the glory of our country.

From a faithful examination of their conduct and sufferings, so exalted is our admiration of the officers generally of the southern army, that, with all our endeavours, we honestly believe the tribute we have paid them is below their worth.

All our facts of primary importance, touching the life and character of Greene, rest on the authority of written testimony. For some of those of minor consequence, we are indebted to tradition. Neither respecting him, however, nor any other person or topic, have we hazarded a statement which we do not believe. We are responsible for our own

veracity in narrating, but not for that of others in reporting.

Of Buford's defeat, two accounts have appeared on record, differing essentially from each other with regard to a leading and important fact.

In one of them it is stated, that Tarleton *summoned* colonel Buford to surrender, on the terms recently granted to the regular troops that had been captured in Charleston; and, that the latter refused: in the other, that Buford *offered* to surrender on those terms, and colonel Tarleton *refused*, and immediately commanded the massacre to begin.

We have adopted, in our narrative, the latter account, for two reasons. It is generally credited in the southern states: and we were intimately acquainted with one of the surviving American officers, by whom we have oftentimes heard it confirmed.

The only event of moment, in the description of which we have ventured to differ materially from other writers, is that of the battle of Ramsaour's mill.

That that affair has never been correctly represented in history, we firmly believe; and consider it a matter of surprise and regret.

From the grounds on which we rest the verity of our own account of it, we cannot withhold our respect. They are, the universal representation of it,

at the time of its occurrence; and repeated conversations, which we have ourselves held, with various individuals who were engaged in the action.

So sanguinary was the conflict, and so gallant and honourable on the part of the whigs, that we have often heard it denominated the “Bunker’s hill” of the south.

In composing the present work, our leading objects have been, to pay a just though long neglected tribute to one of the most distinguished benefactors of our country, to aid in the defence of the American character, against the imputations which assail it from abroad, and, to show, that in the greatness and glory of our own countrymen, we may find ample scope for that admiration, which has hitherto been too much engrossed by foreign splendour.

With what effect we have laboured on these topics, the public will judge.

*Philadelphia, June 1st, 1819.*



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# MEMOIRS

OF

MAJOR GENERAL GREENE.

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## *INTRODUCTION.*

BRIEF view of the causes, which, previously to their separation, tended to bind the British colonies to the mother country; and were calculated to dishearten the first leaders of resistance to ministerial oppression, and prevent them from engaging in the revolutionary war.—The effects of the revolution, on our own country, and its probable influence, on the condition of man.—The merit and glory of those concerned in its achievement.

**I**F within the memory of man, or the compass of history, any class of individuals have merited, beyond others, the honours and rewards of their cotemporaries, the gratitude of posterity, and the admiration of the world, it is those, who, unmoved by difficulty, danger, and misfortune, directed the councils, and led to victory the arms of their country, in the long and sanguinary contest, which resulted in the Independence of the United States.

As auxiliary to the formation of a correct estimate of that achievement, and of the merit of the leaders, by whom it was conducted, a few considerations arising out of it, and calculated to shed light on its nature and character, will constitute no unsuitable introduction to the Memoirs of an officer, who performed in it a part, that was signalized alike, by its brilliancy and usefulness.

From the relationship which nature herself had established, the British Colonies, in North America, felt themselves attached to the mother country, by all those sacred and endearing affinities, to which, from moral, no less than physical motives, the heart surrenders itself, under the sanction of the judgment, as binding, indissolubly, the child to the parent. Nor did distance of situation, diversity of condition, or lapse of years, appear to have any influence, in weakening the bonds which, thus, united them. If not actually augmented, with the progress of time, those ties were, at least, maintained, by a variety of causes, in their original strength. To this the colonists themselves contributed, by a careful preservation, on their part, of a community of language, religion, manners, customs, and civil institutions, with their transatlantic brethren.



Frequent intermarriages and emigrations, literary and scientific connexions, a commercial intercourse mutually beneficial, and a constant reciprocation of kind offices, gave to the attachment between the inhabitants of the two countries, whatever additional force, it could derive from social and *peaceful* considerations.

But even *war*, with all its miseries and offensive features, had contributed, not a little, to endear to each other, the British and the Americans. Associated in interest, as well as in friendship and kindred alliances their enemies, for a century and a half, had been the same. Long accustomed to embark, harmoniously, in the same cause, they were habituated to endure, together, the same hardships, to face the same dangers, to mingle in the same combats, to share the same triumphs, to experience the same reverses, and, in various parts of the world, to fertilize the same plains, and redden the same seas and oceans, with their blood.

This identity of occupation and fortune, under circumstances peculiarly calculated to awaken the feelings, and cherish the generous virtues of the heart, was productive of strong individual friendships. These, being multiplied and extended with the progress of population and mutual intercourse, added

greatly to the amount, and seemed to guaranty the permanence, of national attachment.

Such considerations, various in themselves, but identified in their tendency, and further corroborated by reciprocated sentiments of national pride, constituted a ground of great strength, why England and America should long remain, in the relative condition, of parent state and dependent colony. They must, consequently, have augmented, in a corresponding degree, the reluctance and mental conflict of those, who were compelled, by injustice, to sever the connexion. Where the motives to a continued union were so numerous and strong, nothing but a sense of paramount duty, operating on minds of the highest order, could have awakened a sentiment leading to a separation.

But the reasons for remaining thus relatively united did not terminate here. Considerations suggested by prudence, and strengthened by sentiments of self-interest, added to their number.

By the valour and discipline of her troops, the genius and practical skill of her officers, and the success of her arms, in recent wars, Great Britain had rendered herself the terror of christendom. Although she was, now, at peace, in her European connexions, her means of annoyance, and her disposition to tyr-

ranize and trample on right, had never, before, been so abundant and threatening. With a population overflowing, and easily convertible into soldiers, her spirit was haughty, restless and aspiring, the resources of her treasury ample and unemployed, and her army and navy, powerful and enterprising, ready to strike, with terrible effect, wherever they might be directed by an ambitious ministry.

The fortresses and strong holds of America, were already occupied, by heavy detachments of her choicest troops. She had a knowledge of the geography and resources of our country, sufficient for the purposes of military operations. Her ships of war, stationed in our harbours, or cruising on our coasts, gave her an entire command of our waters; and she had, at her disposal, of transports and other shipping, a sufficient amount, to convey to our shores, in the shortest period, such additional forces, with their stores and munitions, as exigencies might demand.

These preparations and facilities, placed it in her power to commence on us, at any moment, a ruinous war, with every conceivable advantage on her side.

On the part of the colonies, all was comparative feebleness and want.

The settled belief, almost universally entertained by them, that British valour and skill in arms, were

absolutely irresistible, was itself a consideration that disheartened and appalled. In any but minds of the firmest texture and most daring resolution, it was alone sufficient, to repress every thought of open resistance, even to acts the most grievous and oppressive. By *entirely closing every reasonable, and darkening every possible*, prospect of success, it was peculiarly calculated, to wither hope and preclude exertion.

The population of the colonies, being less than three millions, was thinly scattered over a vast territory; and, having never been summoned to act in concert, had no common rallying point, or centre of attraction. As yet, the commerce of the North with the South, or indeed of any one distant section of the country, with another, had scarcely an existence. The inhabitants of different, especially of remote colonies, having but very little knowledge of each other, were bound together by no powerful ties of interest or sympathy; and, from an entire want of statistical information, were perfectly ignorant of the local and general resources of the country. On these points, intelligent strangers, who, having visited the new world, from motives of curiosity, had made the tour of the colonies, were much better informed, than the natives themselves. Under such circumstances,

should the colonists, in a moment of desperation, have the audacity to attempt a scheme of resistance, it seemed impossible for them to put forth, with any effect, even the small degree of strength and energy they possessed.

But the amount of their wants and apparent feebleness, in relation to a war with the mother country, is not yet summed up.

By sea, they were open to every assault. So absolute was their state of destitution here, that they had neither ships of war afloat, navy yards for their erection, timber to construct them, materials to equip them, nor naval officers of experience and skill, to be placed in the command. Nor, without these, was it possible for them, in case of hostilities with the parent state, to procure, from foreign countries, supplies of such articles, as their exigencies might require. From that quarter, therefore, nothing presented itself, but nakedness and imbecility, engaging in a contest with armour and strength.

By land, their wants were equally discouraging. The only elements of an army they possessed, were in themselves. They had strength and hardihood of person, intellects active, independent and cultivated, a spirit of enterprise invigorated and emboldened by the love of freedom, constitutional ardour and in-

trepid hearts, but nothing more. Of public arms, armories, cannon foundaries, magazines, and warlike munitions generally, they were entirely destitute.

Of able and experienced officers, they had but few; of engineers, practically versed in their profession, not one. No military schools having existed in the country, and none of their youth having been regularly bred to arms in the schools of Europe, war, as a science, was altogether unknown to them.

Connected with these alarming deficiencies, appeared, though at a distance, another very gloomy and disheartening prospect.

Open hostility with the parent state would be accounted rebellion; and a rebellious temper is apt to prove contagious. France, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden, had, each of them, colonial possessions, either on the continent, or in the islands, of America. Apprehensive, that if suffered to survive and prosper elsewhere, the spirit of revolt might spread to these establishments, those warlike nations might deem it expedient, to aid Great Britain, should the conflict appear doubtful, in reducing to submission her disobedient colonies. But, admitting the practicability of contending with England single-handed, a confederacy of the most powerful of the European states, would be altogether irresistible.

A chain of reasoning like this, could scarcely fail to occur to the cool and reflecting Americans; and would necessarily augment, in their apprehension, the dangers of resistance, to arbitrary and oppressive ministerial projects.

Under auspices, apparently the most propitious, an appeal to arms, by a colony, against a parent state, is an act of intrepidity, unusually daring. Superadded to the ordinary dangers, attendant on a state of war, a failure of the enterprise, is followed by executions, attainders, disfranchisements, exile, and whatever else an exasperated government can inflict on rebellion. But, under a deliberate view, and a solemn sense, of all the difficulties and dangers I have, here, enumerated, with nothing to support them, but their trust in Heaven, and a full conviction of the righteousness of their cause, to hazard every thing, in defence of the violated rights of their country, argued, in the leaders of the American revolution, a spirit of lofty heroism and generous devotion, which has no parallel, in the pages of history. On a cast so unpromising and full of peril, a stake so momentous has never been risked.

Our estimation of the motives which influenced them, is still further heightened by the recollection,

that, in all they hazarded, suffered, and achieved, those leaders acted for others, rather than themselves.

Most of them, being men of comparative wealth and elevated standing among their fellow subjects, would have felt, but slightly, the oppression that was meditated against their country. *Their* chains would have been light; and they might even have negotiated, with an artful ministry, such terms, as would have secured to them an increase of rank and influence, from the projected arrangements. From humble commoners, they might have procured an elevation, by royal favour, to provincial nobility; with an annexation of large estates to splendid titles. Thus, might they have been gratified, at once, in two dominant passions, cupidity and pride.

But, far above the sphere of selfish propensities, sordid considerations could not touch them. Feeling for the miseries that were preparing for others, indignant at the thought of unconditional subjection, on their part, and arbitrary control, on that of their rulers, and preferring a life of freedom, though associated with poverty, to all that affluence and slavery could offer, they magnanimously resolved, to vindicate the insulted majesty of their native land, and defend her rights from lawless domination, or sacrifice in a cause so just and glorious, themselves,



their fortunes, and the hopes of their descendants. And, for the attainment of their end, in the conflict that ensued, they were equally prodigal of their treasures and their blood.

Conspicuous in the midst of those patriots and heroes was Nathaniel Greene, a major general in the armies of his country, and commander of her forces in the southern department, whose life and character are to constitute the subject of the present volume.

But, as further preparatory to an entrance on our work, we must beg to be indulged in a few additional preliminary remarks.

To furnish a representation, in any measure satisfactory, of the magnitude and importance of the American revolution, it is necessary to embrace in the statement, a few of its immediate and most prominent consequences. Without such a view of it, complete justice can never be done to the merit of those, by whom it was achieved. For, it is in the actions of individuals, connected with their effects, that we must look for the standard of their greatness and fame.

By the event of the revolution, the American people were elevated to the enjoyment of a state of free-

dom, much more rational, perfect and desirable, than had ever before fallen to the lot of humanity. Their opportunities for improvement intellectual and physical, for raising the character of man to the loftiest pitch, of which it is capable, and for the ultimate attainment of glory and felicity, were placed beyond those of any other nation.

Independently of the trammels imposed by governments, more or less arbitrary, in the countries of the old world, the march of reason, and the freedom of human action, are *there* restrained, in no inconsiderable degree, by custom and prejudice. By lawlessly trenching on freedom of conscience, and sternly inderdicting liberality of research, the abuses of religion have contributed, not a little, to the same effect. From father to son, *the established order of things* regularly descends, with, comparatively, but few marks of meditated, and fewer still of actual improvement. Hallowed by time, and venerated for its antiquity, innovations on this order, in any degree striking, are held inadmissible. If amended at all, it must be by changes, so gradual in their advance, as to be scarcely perceptible. Hence, in relation to the general condition of society, except when some convulsion occurs, *an age* effects but little alteration. So

slow is the progress of melioration and reform, in the civilized nations of Europe and Asia.\*

I know it is maintained, by writers of distinction, that, in savage life, freedom of thought and action exists in its highest perfection; and, that, *there*, man enjoys opportunities of happiness and correct intellection, limited only by the extent of his capacities. But, when fairly analysed, few opinions are found to be more erroneous and untenable.

If the freedom of the savage is unshackled by human laws, and arbitrary tyrants of his own race, it is severely restricted, by his ignorance and imbecilities, his superstitions and his fears. Nor is the sway of custom and usage, over any other individual, more imperative and inflexible. His character conforms to the habits of his tribe; and their practices constitute the objects of his earnest imitation. From his ignorance of the laws and operations of nature, he beholds, in most of the physical phenomena around him, the workings of a benign or a malignant spirit,

\* It will be observed, here, that our allusions are confined to the general state and condition of society, moral and physical; not to the progress of literature and science. We also wish it to be borne in mind, that we mean to except from the course of our remarks, such effects as result, occasionally, from the operation of great, but accidental causes. Our observations are directed, only, to the common course of events; and to that we believe them perfectly applicable.

according as the result is propitious or hurtful to him; and his soul, appalled with terror, or paralyzed with awe, is rendered incapable of exertion and inquiry. Admitting, therefore, that he were even divested of the indolence of his disposition, and his love of ease, which appear to be so deeply radicated in his nature, as to control his destiny, he enjoys no real freedom of action or thought, while enfeebled by a want of knowledge, and enslaved by the superstitions and fears that accompany it. The infant that is too imbecile to move, possesses no more effective freedom of action, than if it were under absolute restraint. Nor does the mind of the savage, when blinded by ignorance, and interdicted from exertion, by some irresistible prejudice or passion. Centered, as they are, in his own person, and constituting a part of himself, the dominion which these powers exercise over him, is the more imperative and unrelenting.

But, equally remote from the narrowed condition of the savage mind, and that of the civilized mind of the eastern hemisphere, is the intellectual condition of the American people. Relieved, by cultivation, from the natural restraints of ignorance and superstition, it has not yet submitted to the artificial ones, imposed by government, custom, and the abuses of religion.

On emigrating to the new world, our forefathers, many of whom were distinguished among their contemporaries, for enlightened minds, and most of them for independent spirits, brought with them much of the information, with but little of the prejudices, and other intellectual trammels of Europe. They had it, now, in their power, without subjecting themselves to censure or remark, to retain so much of the fruits of their original education, and of their former habits and modes of life, as they might find advantageous, and to reject such parts as had already become useless, or were likely to prove injurious. Nor was it possible, in the nature of things, that they should not, in some degree, adopt the measure.

The novelty of their situation, called imperatively for a corresponding novelty, in their trains of thought and their courses of action: and, to a certain extent, the requisite changes were, in time, effected. For, if free from control, the enlightened mind be permitted to profit by observation and experience, it rarely fails to form, at length, those opinions, and to pursue, in practice, that line of conduct, which are best adapted to existing circumstances. Touching this point, cultivated man possesses a kind of intuition, from which he derives the same advantages, that inferior animals do from instinct. If left unmolested, he

seldom goes wrong; but conforms, in his actions, to reason and nature.

Such, in a degree that had no precedent, was the case with the original colonizers of North America. From the time of their first settlement, in the wilds they had selected, they began to assume a new character, suited to their altered condition and necessities. The extent of the theatre, on which they were placed, the grandeur and magnificence of surrounding scenery, the unlimited freedom they now enjoyed, and the labours and dangers they were compelled to encounter, gave to them a compass of thought, an intrepidity of intellect, a loftiness of spirit, and an energy of character, far beyond what they had before possessed. To their descendants, these qualities were transmitted, not only unimpaired, but augmented and confirmed, by the early operation of the same causes, that had originally produced them. Thus arose a new people, formed by circumstances, accidental but irresistible, for high destinies, and deriving from nature the elements of greatness.

But the operation of moral and political causes, is capable of countervailing or greatly modifying, the influence of those, that are physical and local. If it does not entirely subvert nature, it can enfeeble her powers, and confine her movements. Hence, it was not

until after the achievement of their Independence, that the American people became duly sensible, of the force and compass of their own energies. They were now, for the first time, made acquainted with themselves, and with the entire extent of the advantages they enjoyed. Their views being thus expanded, and their pride and sensibilities as a nation, awakened, from that era, commenced their march towards greatness and glory.

Out of their own moderation, and the wisdom and enlightened policy of their delegates, arose state constitutions of the fairest promise, and a form of general government, excellent beyond what the world had beheld. While they themselves were earnestly engaged, in joint endeavours to improve those institutions, distant nations, attracted by the spectacle, gazed with wonder, at the stupendous achievements of a new people.

The advantages accruing from these establishments, gave a fresh spring to national exertion and individual adventure. Beneath the hand of industry and enterprise, the progress of improvement soon became conspicuous; the western forests fell with a rapidity, that was altogether unexampled, and plenty overspread the wastes of barrenness; in all directions the face of the country was covered with the fruits

of skilful cultivation; numerous manufacturing institutions for supplying the necessities and comforts of life, started into existence; and every sea became whitened by our canvass, bearing our productions to distant marts.

The freedom of our government, and the felicity of our situation, drew to our shores, from the countries of Europe, augmented emigrations, still further promoting our agricultural interests, and planting among us the imperishable seeds of manufactures and arts of a higher order.

From this propitious combination of causes, resulted an increase in wealth and population, national power and general prosperity, which, for the multiplicity of its sources, and the celerity of its progress, has never been equalled. Nor have any obstacles yet presented themselves, to circumscribe its limits, or impede its career. Even the present embarrassments of the country will, in the end, contribute to its extension. Still widening, therefore, as it proceeds, and continuing to advance with an accelerated progression—the necessary effect of a multiplication of causes,—at what point it may terminate, or what may be its influence on the condition of nations, and the destinies of man, no human sagacity can predict. The belief that it must, eventually, be great and lasting, is



forced on us, by considerations, which nothing can resist.

When we take a survey of the boundless extent of our territory, the number and variety of our climates, the richness and diversity of our soil, the facilities of our inland and maritime navigation, the industry, enterprise, and practical good sense, of our inhabitants, and the federative nature of our government, which, unlike all others, strengthens as it spreads, and increases in its capabilities, to call forth and wield the resources of the country:—When we thus contemplate, collectively, our multiplied means and elements of greatness, the American empire, bounded by the lakes and the gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, presents itself to us, in prospect, possessed of a power, and clothed in a magnificence so august and dazzling, that, for want of an example, in existence or history, the imagination can form no adequate conception of it. If we annex to its limits, the West India islands, which, in time, it *will embrace*, and ornament it with whatever of lustre, the most improved condition of the useful and polite arts, and a corresponding advancement in science and letters, are calculated to impart,—and to this pitch of cultivation, American genius, urged by the ambition and enterprise attending it, cannot fail to attain—if we

thus anticipate and combine, we shall form an image, neither extravagant in its outline, nor coloured beyond the life, which, compared with whatever may accompany or has preceded it, is without a parallel, and, for grandeur and glory, must stand acknowledged, the chef d'œuvre of earthly monuments.

But, to the independence of our country is the whole of this power and magnificence to be attributed: a colonial condition being unfriendly to individual distinction, and inconsistent with national greatness. It is therefore, under Providence, the work of the illustrious assertors of our freedom; and should be passed to their credit, by the justice of the world.

Such is a brief representation of some of the leading results of the American Revolution, without a knowledge and due consideration of which, no correct estimate can be formed, of the importance of that event, or of the high amount of admiration and gratitude, due from the American people to those heroes and statesmen, by whom it was achieved. For exploits of much less brilliancy, and services far inferior in value, the benefactors of nations, in other times, have been canonized as saints, and worshipped as demigods.

# MEMOIRS

OF

## MAJOR GENERAL GREENE.

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### CHAPTER I.

The ancestry, birth, and education of Nathaniel Greene.—His first appearance in public life, as a member of the legislature of his native colony—the part he there sustained—his sentiments, on the right of the subject, and the power of the ruler—the character of his eloquence—his conduct, on the commencement of the revolutionary troubles—his conference with a deputation, from the society of Friends—his dismissal from that society.

**NATHANIEL GREENE** was the fourth, in descent, from the European stock, his great grandfathers' fathers, paternal and maternal, having been emigrants from England. The town of Salisbury was the place of residence of his English ancestry, who, from the remotest period to which they can be traced, were people of repute.

In his religious character, he belonged to the society of Friends; in his political, he was, from his youth, an inflexible, but temperate, and rational republican.

The families, from which he was descended, were among the early and most respectable colonizers, of that section of country, denominated New England. Without having been particularly distinguished by genius or acquirement, several of his forefathers in America were of strong, cultivated, and practical intellects; and all of them, of whom any knowledge is now attainable, were marked, alike, by the sterner virtues of the useful citizen, and the amiable qualities of the neighbour and the friend. Industrious, enterprising, public spirited, and of exemplary deportment, some of them attained to the foremost rank and influence in the community.

John Greene, the founder of the family, arriving from Salem in the colony of Massachusetts, settled in Providence, in the year 1637, that town being then in its infancy. On the first of October, 1642, he received from the two sachems, Miantenomow and Socononeo, a deed for that portion of Warwick, called Occapassatuxet, an estate which is still retained by his descendants.

In 1652, he had conferred on him the appointment of recorder general of the colony, an office equivalent to that of secretary of state.

His immediate issue, in the male line, were three sons, John, James, and Thomas.

Of these, John was chosen an assistant of the colony (the same in rank as senator) in 1660, and held the place of lieutenant governor, from 1690 until 1701.

James and Thomas were also elected assistants, in 1670 and 1678.

One of the lineal descendants of John Greene was, for several years, governor of Rhode Island, during the war of the revolution.

Such was the standing of some of the elder members of the family, at a time, when offices of trust and honour were bestowed as rewards of competency and merit.

To Rhode Island, which was so long the place of their residence, it is probable that the ancestors of Nathaniel Greene were originally attracted, by the liberal policy and christian spirit, which, from its first establishment, distinguished that small but respectable colony.

Although exiled from their native land by ecclesiastical severities, it is known that the original colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut, were far

from being disciplined into religious toleration. In the school of deep and long-continued misfortune, they had not yet learnt the virtue of charity. Rigid puritans and presbyterians themselves, they could not be persuaded of the orthodoxy of the principles, the rectitude of the views, or the legitimacy of the government and form of worship, of any other sect. They denounced as heresy, not to be tolerated, every thing that differed from their own dogmas.

But, it was more especially against papists and the society of friends, of which last denomination many individuals had settled among them, that they directed their resentment, and intolerant spirit. These they regarded as heretics, so flagrant in their false doctrines, that to hold communion with them was sinful and dangerous. Hence, they instituted against them, a course of ecclesiastical proceedings, which amounted to a scheme of unrelenting persecution. With an inconsistency by no means uncommon in the history of man, they seemed resolved to deprive them of that liberty of conscience, for the tranquil enjoyment of which, they themselves had braved and borne every form and degree, that hardship, difficulty, and danger could present.

When Rhode Island was first settled, and erected into a colonial establishment, by Mr. Roger Wil-

liams, and a few of his followers, an effort was made, by the several adjoining sister colonies, to induce her to adopt in relation to non-conforming christians, but, more especially, the society of friends, the same illiberal policy with themselves.

This attempt, to control conscience, and prescribe the manner, in which man must hold communion with his God, was successfully resisted, by the new colonists, who manifested, on the occasion, a firmness and independence, creditable to them, as men, and worthy of the cause, of humanity and religion. To the honour of his heart, as well as of his understanding, Mr. Williams, appears to have been the first legislator, of modern times, who provided, by statute, for the full enjoyment, of religious freedom. What he denominated the "foundation principle" of the colony he had established, was, that "*every man, who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God, according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation.*" This principle, the constituted authorities, regarded as the Palladium of their most invaluable right, and inflexibly adhered to it, in their legislative capacity. They even invited christians, of different denominations, to take refuge among them, from any arbitra-

ry invasion, they might elsewhere sustain, of the freedom of worship.

A provision at once so liberal, and wise, could not fail to be salutary in its operation, and to insure the growth and prosperity of the place. Accordingly, Rhode Island became, in a short time, the resort of individuals of various sects, who lived in intimacy, and harmony, with each other, and in the unmolested enjoyment, of the rights of conscience.

It was at this period, and owing to this peaceful and attractive condition of things, that the ancestors of Nathaniel Greene, with several other members of the society of friends, selected that tolerant and flourishing colony, as the place of their abode.

Thus, through the smiles of Providence, on wise, humane, and righteous measures, did a descendant, by means of his greatness and glory, amply remunerate his native place, for the protection and favours, bestowed by it on his progenitors. But for the liberality of the original constitution of Rhode Island, he, who was *second*, in lustre, in that bright galaxy, of revolutionary heroes, where *Washington only was first*, might not have belonged to that favoured colony, but would, probably, have done honour, by his birth and residence, to some other spot.



Nathaniel Greene, although descended from ancestors, of elevated standing, was not indebted to the condition of his family, for any part of the real lustre, and reputation he possessed. As truly as is the case, with any individual, he was the founder of his own fortune, and the author of his own fame.

He was the second son of Nathaniel Greene, an anchor-smith, of considerable note, who is believed to have had the earliest establishment of the kind, erected in America, and, by persevering industry, in the line of his profession, an extensive and lucrative concern in iron-works, and some success, in commercial transactions, had acquired a sufficiency, to render him comfortable, if not wealthy.

He was born in the year 1741, in the town of Warwick, and county of Kent, in the province of Rhode Island. As far as is known, his childhood passed, without any peculiar or unequivocal indications, of future greatness. But this is a point of little moment. The size of the oak, it is destined to produce, can rarely be foretold, from an examination of the acorn. Nor is it often, that any well defined marks of genius, in the child, afford a premonition of the eminence of the man.

Several of his cotemporaries, however, who are still living, have a perfect recollection, that young

Greene, had neither the appearance nor manners, of a common boy; nor was he so considered, by his elder, and more discerning, acquaintance.

Although not capricious, his deportment was uneven. With a disposition perfectly social, and manners sufficiently affable, to render him a favourite with those of his age, he had, notwithstanding, his hours of stubborn taciturnity and retirement. During these intervals, he was grave, thoughtful, and contemplative, beyond his years; and, when thus immersed, in silent reverie, would seldom allow himself to be needlessly interrupted, without manifesting signs of irritation and resentment.

At other times, he joined, with eagerness and delight, in all the diversions and amusements of his associates; but gave a preference to exercises, of a manly character. When engaged in these, where his ardour and achievement were alike remarkable, he usually placed himself at the head of his comrades, who felt no degradation, at being vanquished, in the contest, or in submitting to his sway. For swiftness of foot, in particular, he was without a rival. Yet, he neither usurped the foremost place, with an air of haughtiness, and conscious superiority; nor struggled to retain it, as a prerogative which he held in high estimation. It was instinctively surrendered to him, by

the justice of his companions, who recognized, in him, a right to it, which they could not dispute; and it remained in his possession, as a matter of course, because, without a voluntary relinquishment, on his part, none of his equals could wrest it from him.

Being intended, by his father, for the business which he had himself pursued, young Greene received, at school, nothing but the elements of a common English education. But, to himself, an acquisition, so humble and limited, was unsatisfactory and mortifying. Even now, his aim was lofty; and he had a noble ambition, not only to embark, in high pursuits, but to qualify himself for a manly and honourable acquittance in them. Seeming, at this early period of life, to realize the important truth, that knowledge is power, a desire to obtain it, became, in a short time, his ruling passion.

✱ He, accordingly, procured, in part by his own economy, the necessary books, and, at intervals of leisure, acquired, chiefly without the aid of an instructor, a competent acquaintance, with the Latin tongue.

This attainment, respectable in itself, was only preliminary, to higher efforts. With such funds, as he was able to raise, he purchased a small, but well selected library, and spent his evenings, and all the time, he could redeem from business, in regular

study. He read, with a view to general improvement; but geography, travels, and military history—the latter, more especially—constituted his delight. Having, also, a predilection for mathematics, and mechanical philosophy, and pursuing, in most cases, the bent of his inclination, as far as prudence and opportunity would admit, his knowledge, in the more practical departments of these sciences, became highly respectable.

To this course of mental discipline, and manly pursuit, it would scarcely be a mark of superstition to believe, that he was directed by the dispensation of that Providence, which so manifestly watched over the welfare of his country. A line of study, better calculated, to prepare his mind for the part he acted, in our revolutionary conflict, could scarcely have been devised. In indulging the native aspirations of his genius, he supplied, in no inconsiderable degree, the want of a regular military education. For, geography and mathematics, mechanical philosophy, and military history, constitute the chief elements, of the science of war.

But the hours were, comparatively, few, which young Greene had it in his power, to dedicate, uninterruptedly, to the cultivation of his intellect. His own inclination, if left unrestrained, would have led

him to the pursuit of knowledge alone, or, to that of one of the higher and learned professions. But considerations, which were deemed imperious, forbade his being indulged in this desire. Nor was, his inclination, so strong and unruly, as to cost him a very arduous struggle to subdue it.

In obedience, therefore, to the wishes of his father, he early embarked in his own line of business, and, in the regular pursuit of it, consumed the principal portion of his time. Even this, in the round of events, proved tributary to his future distinction and fame, and to his high, and varied utilities, in military life. By giving him full strength of muscle, and hardihood of person, with a correct and practical knowledge of men and affairs, it qualified him, the better, for, the toils of a camp, and the important trust, of quarter-master general, in the able discharge of the duties of which, during the most disheartening period of the war, he added, so immeasurably, to his own renown, and served, so essentially, the interests of his country.

Although the business, in which he was now engaged, was too limited for his talents, and too humble for his ambition, his good sense prompted him, to prosecute it with industry, steadiness, and zeal. In the continuance of this laudable course, he was

encouraged and confirmed, by a hope and belief, that, at no very distant period, he might acquire such a competency, as would give him the entire command of his time, and enable him to spend it, in more congenial, and favourite pursuits.

Nor was he altogether disappointed, in these flattering prospects. Although he did not become absolutely rich and independent, his merit soon raised him, to exhibit his talents, in a loftier sphere.

For penetration and judgment, correct information, and a discriminating mind, he was already distinguished, in the circle of his acquaintance. By a general intercourse with men, and mingling, in the most polished society, of the place, he became, in a short time, equally remarkable, for a conciliating deportment, affable manners, and an easy, rich, and perspicuous elocution.

Qualifications so solid, and attractive, could not long fail, to introduce their possessor to public notice, and, by rendering him an object of esteem and confidence, successfully recommend him to the favours of his country.

Accordingly, at a period of life, unusually early, Mr. Greene was elevated, by a very flattering suffrage, to a seat in the legislature, of his native colony. This was the commencement of a public career,

which, brightening, as it advanced, and flourishing in the midst of difficulties, closed with a lustre that was peculiarly dazzling.

Being thus introduced into the councils of his country, at a time, when the rights of the subject, and the powers of the ruler, were beginning to be topics of liberal discussion, he felt it his duty, as a public functionary, to avow his sentiments, on the momentous question. Nor, possessed, as he was, of enlightened views, and an intrepid spirit, did he pause or waver, as to the principles he should adopt, and the decision he should form. He was, from early habit, no less than from a sense of its utility, a lover of order; but, convinced, that educated man, was intended, by a God of justice and benevolence, to be governed by reason, not by force, he was inflexibly opposed to tyranny and oppression. Nor, as often as the subject was introduced, in private conversation, or public debate, did he shrink from a manly avowal of his opinion. Remarkable, however, even now, for prudence and sound policy, his expressions, on these occasions, were no less temperate and qualified, than resolute and firm. To every discerning eye, he had the appearance of a man, prepared, alike, to counsel, or to act—to encourage, or to lead, in resistance to oppression, and in the assertion of right.

Mr. Greene was altogether a practical legislator. Without being extensively versed in political learning, his acquaintance with man, and his talent for observation, connected with sagacity and sound judgment, gave him a degree of knowledge, on the subject of government, that was, at once, respectable, and highly useful: and this he was enabled to communicate, with more than ordinary effect, by the excellent style of his public eloquence, which, without being vehement, impassioned, or brilliant, was peculiarly luminous, manly, and bold. Too honest for sophistry, and impatient of the interrupted march of logic, he pressed to his object, by the assumption of forcible and clear positions, which he handled with strength, rather than skill.

His perfect acquaintance with the interests of his constituents, his courteous deportment, and devotion to business, rendered him one of the most popular men of the day; and enabled him to retain, without an effort, the seat which he held, in the legislature of the colony.

But his character, although forming, was not completely developed, until the commencement of the troubles, which terminated in our independence. It was then, that assuming the functions of an awakening spirit, he aspired to a lead, in the public



councils; and, throwing from him, as unsuitable to the times, the peaceful habits, in which he had been educated, sternly declared, for a redress of grievances, or open resistance.

On this daring measure, however, he did not venture, until, by a series of preliminary impressions, he had contributed, in co-operation with others, of similar views, and corresponding firmness, to prepare, for the crisis, the minds of the people. Being, from this period, publicly regarded as the leader of the colony, in case of a final resort to the sword, he began to qualify himself, more specifically, by a course of reading, for the profession of arms. In this, he only fostered a propensity, which, although not, perhaps, recognized, even by himself, had evidently slumbered, from childhood, in his bosom.

This open departure, from the sectarian principles, in which he had been educated, was followed, of course, by his immediate dismissal, from the Society of friends. Previously, however, to the final act of excommunication, against him, several of the leading men of the meeting, to which he belonged, waited on him, in a body, with a view to endeavour, by remonstrance and persuasion, to divert him from his purpose. This friendly deputation, he received with his

usual urbanity, and heard what they had to urge, with patient attention.

When they had finished their address, he very calmly and courteously replied, that, as regarded the religious denomination, to which he had, hitherto, adhered, he was perfectly aware of the necessary consequence, of the step he had taken; and, that he had not adopted it, without seriously reflecting on it, in all its bearings. He deeply regretted a separation from a society, in the bosom of which he had been educated, and had passed many of the happiest moments of his life. But, in all he had now done, he had the perfect concurrence of his judgment and conscience; and, to recede, therefore, would, on his part, be a violation of duty, which he must not encounter. He expressed a hope, that his new course of life, would not entail on him a forfeiture, of the friendships and good wishes, of his early associates; a result, which he frankly declared, he should feel to be one of the most serious misfortunes, that could befall him. He professed, for the general principles and doctrines of the Society of friends, that high veneration, which he was bound to feel, for the religion of his forefathers; and, also, an undiminished esteem, for the correct habits, and exemplary deportment, of the people of the sect. He flattered himself, that,

notwithstanding his removal from them, his old friends would not cease to feel an interest, in his personal welfare, if not in the success, of the enterprises he might attempt; and concluded, by an assurance, that, should any thing occur, to convince him of the error of his present views, and course of life, he would immediately relinquish them; and, after making satisfactory atonement, crave a readmission into the society, from which he had been excluded.

Finding him inflexible, the deputation, which consisted chiefly of his personal friends, took an affecting leave of him, deeply lamenting the error, into which they conceived him to have fallen, and not a little grieved, at the loss of a member, of such high qualities, and distinguished promise.

## CHAPTER II.

Commencement of the war of the Revolution.—Mr. Greene, at first a private, in a short time, with the rank of brigadier general, takes command of the Rhode Island militia—repairs to Cambridge—addresses general Washington, as commander in chief—is promoted, by congress, to the rank of major general, in the regular army.—His conduct, on Long and York islands—opposes, successfully, in a council of officers, the proposition, made by general Lee, for the entire evacuation of the latter—accompanies general Washington, in his retreat through New Jersey—is present at the capture of the Hessians, in Trenton—his advice, on that occasion—is present, also, in the battle of Princeton—distinguishes himself, in the battle of Brandywine—remonstrates with the commander in chief, for not doing justice, in general orders, to Weedon's brigade—commands the American right wing, in the battle of Germantown, and acquits himself to the satisfaction of general Washington—is ordered into New Jersey, at the head of a strong detachment of troops, to watch the movements of lord Cornwallis—The opinion of his lordship respecting him.

THE encroachments of an arbitrary, and short sighted ministry, on the rights and privileges of the North American colonies, reduced them, at length, to the fatal alternative, of unconditional submission, or an appeal to the sword. Under such circumstances, high minded characters, who had, hitherto, been free, could not hesitate, in making their election. They could endure death, but not bondage; and, on this sentiment was their resolution built.

In every circle, throughout the country, resistance and war became the theme of conversation; and a spirit of defiance, accompanied by the bustle and "note of preparation," spread from colony to colony, with a rapidity that astonished, while it offered an earnest, of ultimate success.

The sword was earliest unsheathed, in the colony of Massachusetts; and, on the plains of Lexington and Concord, the blood of British soldiers, and American subjects, mingled first in hostile strife.

After that severe and sanguinary affair, which occurred on the 19th of April, 1775, it was not long, until New England was in arms. Nor, in gallantry of spirit, and promptitude of preparation, was Rhode Island behind her sister colonies.

In October, 1774, her legislature granted a charter to a military association, under the name of the Kentish guards. The command was conferred on James M. Varnum, who afterwards attained to the rank of brigadier general.

Of this company, Nathaniel Greene, then in the legislature, was the chief promoter, and an original member; but, having, as yet, no experience in arms, commenced, under its auspices, in the capacity of a *private soldier*, his military pupillage.

In this humble walk he continued, faithfully performing the duties appertaining to it, until after the battle of Concord and Lexington. But that brought to a close, his character, as a private.

The soil of his country was, now, unrighteously stained, with the blood of her sons; the maddening sound of battle had reached him, and his genius for war, was suddenly awakened, into vigorous action.

Greatly to their credit, those who had been heretofore, his superiors, in rank, feeling, at present, the ascendancy of his intellect, and the energy of his character, magnanimously recognized his fitness for command. They unanimously pronounced him qualified, beyond any other individual, to become, in a military point of view, the chief of the colony.

Rhode Island having, accordingly, in the month of May, 1775, raised three regiments of militia, amounting in the whole, to about sixteen hundred, and officered, by some of her most distinguished inhabitants, she placed them under the command of Mr. Greene, with the rank of brigadier general, who, without loss of time, conducted them to head quarters, in the village of Cambridge.

Here, having, by a single act of promotion, after a noviciate of about seven months, exchanged the rank of a private, for that of a general officer, he soon dis-

tinguished himself, in his present station, and offered to others, a most salutary example. This he did, in a very special manner, and, with the happiest effect, by his prompt obedience to the commands of his superiors, at a time, when that subordination, which alone can render an army efficient and powerful, was not yet established; by habits of strict and laborious attention, in the regular study of military science; and, by the excellent discipline, which he caused to be introduced, into his own brigade.

Although perfectly ignorant, when first embodied, of all that related to the duties of a soldier, the Rhode Island militia had been but a short time in service when they took a lead of most of their associates, in their spirit of subordination, in the dexterous use of their arms, and in a knowledge of the various evolutions of the field. For this, they were indebted, if not exclusively, at least, in the first instance, to the judgment, skill, and exertions of their commander. For the officer imprints his image on the soldiery, as certainly and indelibly, as the signet does its impress, on the softened wax.

A gentleman, of peculiar sagacity, and discernment, now residing in the state of Massachusetts, saw general Greene, for the first time, at Cambridge, in the year 1775. He was sitting in court martial,

on the trial of certain officers, for misconduct, at the battle of Bunker's hill.

Uninformed even of his name, and with no other knowledge of him, but that derived from the clearness, force, and compass of his views, in relation to the matters then before him, the pertinency of his interrogatories, the promptness and propriety of his decisions, and the commanding dignity of his whole deportment, the stranger pronounced him, without hesitation, a man of real military genius, and, although several officers, of rank, were present, by far, the ablest member of the court.

This fact, which illustrates, very forcibly, the strength and loftiness of the character of Greene, was communicated to us, a few weeks ago, by the gentleman, who made the observation, and who, we have permission to say, is colonel Pickering.

On the second of July, 1775, general Washington, invested, by congress, with the command in chief of the armies of his country, arrived at the American head-quarters, in Cambridge.

On this occasion, in compliment to their commander, and in testimony of their acquiescence and satisfaction, in his appointment, the army received him, with a general and brilliant demonstration of joy.



But it is not in public acts, where thousands are united, that loyalty and devotion are most cordially expressed. True sincerity discloses its regards, rather in whispers, than in noisy acclamation.

Conscious of this truth, general Greene availed himself of an early opportunity, to welcome the commander in chief, in a personal address, in which, with that warmth of feeling, and kindness of expression, which the occasion required, he avowed his attachment to his person, his admiration of his character, his confidence in his talents, and the high gratification he derived, from the prospect of being associated with him in arms, and serving under him, in defence of the violated rights of his country.

This incident, was the happy prelude, to a friendship between those two great and illustrious officers, which death, alone, had the power to dissolve. No sooner did the commander in chief, become thoroughly acquainted, with the character and merits of general Greene,—the ardour of his patriotism, the integrity of his heart, his profound judgment and sagacity in council, and the firmness and gallantry of his spirit in the field,—than he regularly consulted him, in difficult emergencies, and received his opinions, with uncommon deference. General Hamilton alone excepted, it is believed that he ne-

ver, in a public capacity, reposed, in any other individual, an equal confidence. Nor had time, and a confirmed intimacy with him, any other effect, than to enhance his estimation, of his capacity and worth. It is a fact, of notoriety, that he entertained, and frequently expressed, an anxious wish, that, in case of his death, or disability, general Greene might be appointed his successor, in the supreme command. A more honourable testimonial could not have been awarded, than such a desire, expressed by one, who was equally distinguished, for his love of country, and his unerring judgment of human character.

It is also known, that a majority, in congress, considered Greene, next to Washington, best qualified for the command in chief.

Where men of low qualities, and sordid spirits, are permitted to be competitors, for favour and place, exalted merit never fails, to become an object of envy, intrigue, and detraction.

It was not to be expected, then, that the growing intimacy, attachment, and confidence, between general Greene, and the commander in chief, would be suffered long to exist, without an attempt, on the part of those, who, from a want of merit, could rise only by the downfall of their superiors, to poison and destroy them.

Accordingly, but a few months after their commencement, the effort was made, in indistinct whispers, anonymous communications, and such other practices, as malice and meanness, employ against worth.

But general Washington had too much discernment, to become the dupe of such weak and grovelling artifices. An enlightened judge of human actions, he attributed to their true motives, those dark machinations, against an officer, of whose talents he had sufficient evidence, and whose moral worth was above suspicion. Envy and detraction, he well knew, to be the constant lot, of pre-eminent merit. He continued, therefore, regardless of calumny, to bestow friendship, and repose confidence, where they were so amply deserved.

During the investment of Boston, by the American forces, a state of things, which lasted, for several months, no opportunity presented itself to general Greene, to acquire distinction, by personal exploit. But his love of action, and spirit of adventure, were strongly manifested: for, he was one of the few officers of rank, who concurred with general Washington, in the propriety of attempting to carry the town by assault.

In consequence of this, and his high estimation of his general competency, when the commander in chief, determined, at length, on a daring enterprise against the enemy, he entrusted to him, the immediate command of that division of the army, which he expected to sustain, by its firmness, the severest conflict, and vanquish, by its valour, the most formidable opposition. This was the second division, which, besides some manœuvring, during the time of action, that required judgment, coolness, and skill, in the commanding officer, had orders, in the plan of attack, to assault and carry, by the bayonet, should the resistance require it, a very strong, and well guarded point. General Washington is known to have been frustrated, in his views, on this occasion, by the interposition of occurrences, over which he had no control.

On the evacuation of Boston, by the British army, an event which occurred about the middle of March, 1776, the American forces, in that quarter, were permitted to repose from their toils, and to exchange, for a time, the hardships, and privations, of a field encampment, for the enjoyment of plenty, in comfortable barracks.

But, to the mind of general Greene, this change of condition, afforded but little relaxation or respite. To

his discerning eye, the contest, which had just commenced, appeared likely to be long, impassioned, and bloody. Having, from principle, embarked in it, his fortunes, and his hopes, he was solemnly resolved, never to relinquish it, but with the liberation of his country, or the termination of his life. To qualify himself, therefore, to fill in it a higher sphere, and to act a more distinguished and useful part, he continued, with unabating industry, his military studies, and, as far as opportunity served, his attention to the practical duties of the field.

This course, steadily pursued, under the immediate supervision of Washington, could scarcely fail, to procure rank, and lead to eminence. Accordingly, on the 26th of August, 1776, he was promoted, by congress, to the rank of major general, in the regular army. This was the day preceding the destructive battle of Long Island.

In that action, so disastrous to the Americans, general Greene was prevented from taking part, by a severe fit of sickness, under which he was labouring. This circumstance was deeply to be lamented, and probably contributed, in no small degree, to the misfortunes of the day.

To the readers of history, it is well known, that, at that period, the British force, before New York,

was in great strength, and in a state of preparation, for a vigorous campaign. By land and sea, it amounted, by computation, to fifty thousand; the American, to less than half that number.

A severe action having been, for some time, perceived to be inevitable, general Washington, who experienced the deepest solicitude, in relation to its issue, had adopted every measure, that wisdom, skill, and genius could devise, to render it successful, on the part of his country.

Persuaded, from every view he could take of the subject, that the enemy would attempt to approach New York, by forcing their way across Long Island, he gave to general Greene, in whom, of all his associates in arms, his trust was highest, the command of those positions, best calculated to impede their advance.

That officer had never, before, been placed in a situation, so deeply responsible. Nor was he insensible of the magnitude of the trust that was reposed in him. On the wisdom, and efficiency of his present conduct, was staked the issue of the impending action—perhaps, even the fate of the cause of freedom.

That nothing might be wanting, on his part, he had acquired, by personal inspection, a thorough

knowledge of all the defiles and passes, on the island, through which the enemy could advance, that he might be the better able to place them, when the occasion should demand it, under suitable defence.

This knowledge, it was impossible for him to impart, by information, to any other officer. It must gain admission through the eye, and could be acquired, only, by a survey, in person, of the adjacent country. Hence, on being obliged, by sickness, to retire from command, he could not communicate to general Sullivan, who succeeded him, the information he possessed; nor did the latter, from a want of time, or some other cause, take the requisite measures, to obtain it himself.

The unfortunate result of the action, which followed, is well known. At every point, the Americans were defeated, with great slaughter, from a want of knowledge of the movements of the enemy, much more, than from any other cause. In consequence of that fatal defect, the British, throwing themselves into their rear, inclosed them between two fires, from which, nothing but the most desperate valour could have extricated them.

No blame was affixed to general Sullivan, on account of the defeat, which his detachment sustained. He was a brave, active, and intelligent officer; and

appeared to leave nothing untried, within the compass of his means, to maintain his ground, and repel the enemy. It was, notwithstanding, the settled belief, of the best informed of the army, that, had general Greene's health permitted *him* to retain the command, although the day might have been against him, the events of it would have been much less disastrous than they were.

Confined to his bed, by a fever, in New York, while the battle, on Long Island, was raging within his hearing, he manifested great solicitude, as to the fortune of the day. Intelligence of the general reverses, experienced by the troops, he had lately commanded, were exceedingly distressing to him: but, when informed of the terrible slaughter, sustained by Smallwood's Maryland regiment, his favourite corps, composed, for the most part, of young men of family, and in a high state of discipline, he burst into tears, declaring, that, superadded to the amount of private sorrow, which that disaster must occasion, the cause of freedom had experienced, in it, a loss, which no time could repair.

To the joy of his friends, and associates in arms, we find him, in a short time, restored to health, and actively engaged, in the duties of his station.



Shortly after the battle of Long Island, general Lee arrived from the south, and advised an immediate abandonment of the whole of York Island, which general Washington then occupied. The arguments he urged, as the basis of this advice, were so specious, and imposing, as to produce some effect, on the mind of the commander in chief.

A council of officers was called, in which the expediency, of an entire evacuation of the island, was solemnly debated. General Lee, as was to be expected, took a lead, in the affirmative, and general Greene, in the negative, of the question. The latter contended, that, even in case of an abandonment of every other part of the station, fort Washington, at least, on the river Hudson, ought to be retained.

With the majority of the board, his reasoning was conclusive; and, when the vote was taken, it was decided to evacuate York Island, with the exception of fort Washington, which was ordered to be maintained, under a strong garrison.

By no future event, was the wisdom of that measure satisfactorily tested. Although, in the issue, fort Washington fell, and the whole garrison became prisoners of war, general Greene openly attributed the misfortune, not to the nature of case, but to the misconduct of the commanding officer. Too just and

magnanimous, to assail, by general and undefined accusations, he specified the particular measure, in which he asserted the misconduct lay.

General Lee excepted, who opposed it, from the beginning, the act appears to have met the censure of those alone, who judge of measures, only by *their issue*. But, it is unnecessary to add, that, by this rule, folly becomes wisdom; and prudence often sustains the imputation of rashness.

Shortly after this, when fort Lee, with a garrison of three thousand troops, was threatened, and seriously endangered, by lord Cornwallis, at the head of a force, too strong to be opposed, general Greene, who commanded the station, fairly vanquished his lordship, in military address; and, by a prompt, rapid, and well devised movement, saved his detachment.

A crisis, most gloomy, and portentous to the cause of freedom, had now arrived.

By death, sickness, capture, desertion, and the expiration of the time of service of a great proportion of the soldiers, the army of general Washington was almost annihilated. It amounted to less than three thousand effective men; and, what was even worse than a want of numbers, and physical force, it was morally weakened. The soldiery were dispirited, by their late disasters; and, by a belief, now too preva-

lent among them, that their officers were inferior to those of the enemy, in the science of war. Of all the evils that can befall an army, these are, confessedly, the most formidable and ruinous. With buoyant spirits, and confidence in his leader, the soldier encounters, with alacrity, the deadliest peril. But, if broken-spirited, or suspicious of the talents, or firmness of his commander, he attacks with reluctance, and fights, without anticipating success, a state of things, which renders his discomfiture easy.

In his retreat, which now commenced, through the state of New Jersey, before lord Cornwallis, who led, in pursuit of him, the whole elite of the British army, general Washington was accompanied by general Greene, and received, from him, all the aid, that, under circumstances, so dark and unpromising, talents, devotion, and firmness could afford. Possessed, alike, of an ardent temperament, hearts that neither danger nor misfortune could appal, and an inspiring trust, in the righteousness of their cause, it belonged to the character, as well as to the standing, of these two great and illustrious commanders, never, for a moment, to despair of their country. The hope and confidence, which beamed from their countenances, accompanied by the solemn conviction, they uniformly expressed, that Heaven would, ultimately, smile on

their arms, encouraged their followers, and supported them, under the pressure of misfortune and defeat.

Having made good his retreat, across the Delaware, and procured, for his soldiers, a few days repose, general Washington, with the advice of several of his officers, especially general Greene, and colonel Reed, of Pennsylvania, resolved on the enterprise, of the 26th of December, against the post of the enemy, at Trenton. The issue is known, and is glorious, in our history. About one thousand Hessians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with their arms, field equipage, and artillery, constituted the trophies of that glorious morning, which, after a night of gloom and deep despondency, opened, on the friends of American freedom, with the day-star of hope.

General Greene, who bore, in this affair, a very distinguished part, was exceedingly anxious, that the commander in chief, taking advantage of the panic, which was thus produced, should press on to the attack of other posts of the enemy, in New Jersey. The advice coincided with the feelings of Washington. But, the measure, meeting with the disapprobation of all the other officers of rank, except colonel Knox, was, from prudence, abandoned; and, on the afternoon of the same day, the American army returned, to their encampment, on the Pennsylvania shore.

General Washington, repeatedly afterwards, expressed his regret, at not having pursued the advice of general Greene; declaring his conviction, that had he vigorously followed up the stroke, at Trenton, the other British posts must, necessarily, have fallen.

Greene was, again, of the council, of the commander in chief, in planning the daring attack, of the 2nd of January, 1777, on the British garrison, at Princeton, as well as his associate, in achieving its execution. His conduct was altogether worthy of himself; and contributed much, to the success of the adventure. He had been selected, on the preceding day, to command a strong detachment, ordered on the important service, of impeding the advance of the British army. In this, his gallantry, prudence, and skill, being alike conspicuous, he received the applauses of the commander in chief.

He continued to be the associate, and most confidential counsellor of Washington, through the gloomy, and ominous period, that succeeded; during which, that great leader, by a masterly policy, so far overreached the British commander, as, although encamped, in the same neighbourhood, to hold him in check, with a very feeble force, by impressing on him a belief, that it was too powerful to be approached with safety.

In the month of August, of the same year, the enemy, commanded by sir William Howe, having sailed from New York, landed, in great force, at the head of Elk. The capture of Philadelphia was known to be their object. General Washington, with his whole command, threw himself in their front, to dispute with them the passage, to the capital of the country.

That his position might be strong and commanding, he deputed general Greene, whose military judgment he so highly prized, to reconnoitre the country, and select the ground. This duty the general performed, with his usual ability. But, before his despatches, on the subject, were received, the occupation of a different position was determined on, in a council of war. On viewing the spot, thus selected, as the strong hold of the army, he pronounced it unsuitable; and declared, that it could not be maintained, should the enemy assault it. The issue proved the soundness of his judgment.

In the obstinate, and bloody conflict, known by the name of "the battle of Brandywine," which soon afterwards occurred, general Greene, by his distinguished conduct, added greatly to his former renown.

In the course of it, a detachment of American troops, commanded by general Sullivan, being suddenly and unexpectedly attacked, by the enemy, re-

treated in disorder. General Greene, at the head of Weedon's Virginia brigade, flew to their support. So rapid was his movement, that, in forty-two minutes, he marched nearly four miles. On approaching the scene of action, he found the defeat of general Sullivan, to be a perfect rout. Not a moment was to be lost. Throwing himself into the rear, of his flying countrymen, and retreating slowly, he kept up, especially from his cannon, so destructive a fire, as greatly to retard the advance of the enemy. Arriving, at length, at a narrow defile, strongly secured, on its right and left, by thick and heavy woods, he immediately halted, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of danger, in case of his being compelled to a hasty retreat, and formed his troops, determined to dispute the pass, with his small arms. This he effected, with complete success, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the assailants; until, after a conflict, of more than an hour, night came on, and brought it to a close. But for this interposition, Sullivan's detachment must have been nearly annihilated.

On this occasion, only, did the slightest misunderstanding, ever occur, between general Greene, and the commander in chief. In his general orders, after the battle, the latter had neglected to bestow any special applause, on Weedon's brigade. Against this.

which he considered unjust, having himself witnessed, and reported, the firmness and good conduct, of that excellent corps, general Greene remonstrated, in person.

General Washington replied, "You, sir, are considered my favourite officer. Weedon's brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them, for their achievement, under your command, I shall be charged with partiality: jealousy will be excited, and the service injured."

"Sir," exclaimed, general Greene, with considerable emotion, "I trust your excellency will do me the justice to believe, that I am not selfish. In my own behalf, I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please; I shall not complain. However highly I prize your excellency's good opinion and applause, a consciousness, that I have endeavoured to do my duty, constitutes, at present, my richest reward. But, do not, sir, let me intreat you, on account of the jealousy, that may arise, in little minds, withhold justice, from the brave fellows, I had the honour to command."

Convinced that prudence forbade the special notice, that was requested, the commander in chief persisted in his silence; and general Greene remonstrated no further. Although he continued to lament, that the gallant Virginians were deprived of the



commendations so justly their due, he learnt, on cool reflection, to appreciate the motives of the commander in chief; and frankly acknowledged, that he thought them correct. Nor did he rest satisfied with this. Feeling that his conduct had been indiscreet, and his manner, at least, if not his expressions, somewhat intemperate, he lost no time in atoning for them, by an ample apology.

Delighted with his frankness, and magnanimity, Washington replied, with a smile, "An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once, in two years, deserves to be forgiven. As far as I have been informed, this, which you have denominated a fault, is the first you have committed, since you have served under my command." With that, he offered him his hand, and the matter terminated.

A few days afterwards, the British and Americans having again approached each other, general Howe made arrangements, for another attack. Washington determined not to disappoint him. Accordingly, general Sullivan, and colonel Pickering, charged with the duties of adjutant general, received directions, to arrange the troops in order of battle.

On reconnoitering the position, general Greene discovered, at a distance, in the rear of the line, a deep and heavy marsh, which, in case of a defeat,

would impede, if not intercept, the retreat of the army, and endanger, at least, the loss of their artillery. Riding up to the commander in chief, he informed him of the fact, with his apprehension, as to the issue. Orders were immediately given, to put the troops in motion, and change, without loss of time, the ground thus injudiciously selected for battle. Greatly to the satisfaction of general Washington, because, apparently, to the preservation of the army, the movement was promptly effected. A profuse fall of rain, now occurring, damaged the powder of the Americans, and prevented the action.

This fact demonstrates, at once, the exploring vigilance, and sound judgment, of general Greene; and the influence of his opinions, with the commander in chief.

Following him, in his military career, he next presents himself, on the plains of Germantown.

The daring assault, made by general Washington, on a powerful British garrison, at that place, in the month of October, 1777, is a matter of record, and well known, to every reader of American history.

In the plan of attack, the command of the left wing of the army, was given to general Greene.

In his first operations, against the British lines, he was triumphantly successful. The enemy giving way,

he pressed them, with great vigour and effect, and with every prospect, of a brilliant victory. But, owing to the darkness of the morning, from a dense fog, which rested heavily on the face of the country, some irregularities occurred, in the movements of the column he commanded.

Part of it halted, without orders, before Mr. Chew's house, into which, as a fortress, lieutenant colonel Musgrave, with six companies of British infantry, had thrown himself. This act of insubordination, weakened his force, and permitted the enemy to recover from their panic, and return to order, from the partial confusion, into which he had thrown them.

In another part, colonel Matthews, an excellent officer, pushing, with too much enthusiasm, the advantage he had gained, separated from the main column, and, impeded in his vision, by the interposition of the fog, fell into the hands of the enemy, with the chief part of his regiment, and nearly two hundred prisoners, he had previously captured.

The British, being strongly reinforced, by several regiments, that were near at hand, became, in turn, the assailants. The Americans now fell back, general Greene, who, at the head of his division, had advanced furthest, in pursuit of the enemy, forming the rear of the infantry.

Thus situated, his peril was imminent. But his perfect coolness, and exemption from embarrassment, giving him the command of all the resources of his great mind, enabled him to extricate himself, by measures and movements, that were new and peculiar.

“Upon coming to two roads,” says Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, “and thinking it will be safest, and may prevent the enemy’s advancing, by either, so as to get ahead of him; and that the divisions (Greene’s and Stephen’s, now both under the command of general Greene) may aid each other, upon occasion, he marches one division, on the one road, and the second, on the other. While continuing this retreat, Pulaski’s cavalry, who are in his rear, being fired upon, by the enemy, ride over the second division, and throw them into the utmost disorder, as they know not, at first, but that they are the British dragoons. The men run and scatter, and the general is apprehensive, that he will lose his artillery. He cannot collect a party, sufficient to form a rear guard, till he hits upon the device, of ordering the men to lay hold of each others hands. This answers—he collects a number, and by the help of the artillery, brings the enemy to give over the pursuit, after having continued it near five miles.”

By certain officers, who had long been jealous of his rising reputation, but, more especially, of his high standing, with the commander in chief, an attempt was made, on this occasion, to sully the character, and circumscribe the influence, of general Greene. But the effort proved abortive; and, even, recoiled, in its worst effects, on its envious authors. The general, himself, disdained to notice it. A consciousness that he had done his duty, induced him to leave the issue to time; and to rely, for justice, on the unbiassed decision, of the candid and high minded, who could have nothing to serve, but the cause of truth. Nor were his calumniators able, by their cabals and whispers, to pluck from his brow, a single laurel.

The slanders of the day, having gained admission to the ear of Washington, he was asked, by general Reed, whether he was dissatisfied with the conduct of general Greene. The answer he returned, was prompt and unequivocal. "Not at all," said he; "the fault lay with ourselves." In this, he referred to the unfortunate halt, made by the troops, before Mr. Chew's house, where he, himself, was present. Indeed, all concurred, in attributing the failure of the enterprise, chiefly to that error.

That, for his conduct, in the battle of Germantown, general Greene forfeited no part of the esteem and

confidence, of the commander in chief, is further evinced, by an event, which, not long afterwards, occurred.

To remove all obstructions, from the river Delaware, and open a free communication between the British army, in Philadelphia, and the shipping below, sir William Howe despatched, into the state of New Jersey, lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment of troops. His lordship's instructions, pointed, in a particular manner, to the reduction of fort Mercer.

No sooner was Washington apprized of this movement, than he ordered into the same quarter, with the command of a similar corps, major general Greene, whom, of all his officers, he considered best qualified, to cope, in military policy and address, with the British commander.

Although, from the operation of causes, over which he had no control, Greene failed, in his attempt to prevent the opening of the communication, between the army and navy, of the enemy, he manifested, in his movements, great prudence, judgment, and skill; and acquitted himself to the perfect satisfaction of the commander in chief, and the councils of the nation. Even the British officer, to whom he was opposed, had the magnanimity to bestow on him a lof-

ty encomium. "Greene," said he, "is as dangerous as Washington. He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure, when encamped in his neighbourhood."

At this period, the quarter-master department, in the American army, was in a very defective and alarming condition. Although vast sums of money had been expended for its use, and men of high reputation appointed to administer it, yet, in every branch of it, nothing but poverty and disorder prevailed. Without a speedy and radical reform of these grievances, general Washington had pronounced it impossible for the army, in the course of the approaching summer (1778), to be adequate to an active and efficient campaign. He even doubted its ability to continue in the field. He further declared, that such a reform, could be effected only, by the appointment of a quarter-master general, of great resources, well versed in business, and possessing practical talents of the first order. When requested, by congress, to look out for such an officer, he, at once, fixed his eye on general Greene.

### CHAPTER III.

The office of quarter-master general offered to general Greene—he, at first, declines; but, afterwards, accepts it, on certain conditions.—The importance and difficulties of the appointment.—His able and excellent administration of it—its effect on the spirits of the soldiers, and the movements of the army—the British evacuate Philadelphia—battle of Monmouth, and the part which general Greene bore in it—the services he rendered, and the distinction he acquired, in the operations of the army, in Rhode Island, under the command of general Sullivan—receives the thanks of general Washington, for his good conduct, in checking, at the village of Springfield, the advance of a division of the British army, that threatened the magazines and stores, at Morristown—the murder of Mrs. Caldwell—Greene's conduct in the affair of Andre.

It was well known to Washington, that the soul of his friend, and favourite officer, was indissolubly wedded, not to the duties of the staff, but of the line. Notwithstanding this, he expressed, in a conversation, on the subject, with a member of congress, his entire persuasion, that, if general Greene could be convinced, of being able to render to his country, higher services, in the quarter-master department, than in the field, he would sacrifice, at once, his partialities to his patriotism, and accept the appointment. “There is not,” said he, “an officer of the army, nor a man in



America, more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote those interests, in the character of a corporal, he would exchange, as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulet for the knot. For, although he is not without ambition; that ambition has not, for its object, the highest rank, so much as the *greatest good*. I have strong hopes, therefore, that he will, for a time, at least, consent to a removal from the line to the staff."

When the office of quarter-master general, was first offered to general Greene, he declined accepting it, because its duties, would necessarily lead him, from that walk of military life, of which he was most enamoured, and for which he considered himself best qualified. After a conference, however, with the commander in chief, in which the latter urged, with peculiar earnestness, the important services he would render his country, in that capacity, he consented to an acceptance, on condition, that his rank, in the army, should not be affected, by it, and that he should forfeit nothing of his right to command, in time of action.

On these terms, he received the appointment on the second day of March, 1778, and entered, immediately, on the duties of the office.

In every army, and under all circumstances, especially during a period of war, this is a trust, surpass-

sing in weight, responsibility, and importance, any other, except that of supreme command. Nor is even that to be compared with it, in the endless variety of the objects it embraces, the intricacy and embarrassment of the details belonging to it, and the extensive and well adjusted system, which it, therefore, requires. Hence, the most honourable testimonial a pupil can receive, on leaving a military school, in Europe, is that, which pronounces him qualified for the quarter-master department.

But, in the case of general Greene, the difficulties of the office were multiplied and augmented, in a degree, to which history offers no parallel.

The department being overwhelmed, in confusion and abuses, to correct and remove these, required time, and constituted a labour of no common magnitude. Nor could this be performed, through the agency of deputies. Such characters, having, probably, produced most of the existing evils, were altogether unsuitable, to be employed in their removal. Throughout the whole establishment, the correctives were to be applied, by the chief officer himself. His first business, therefore, was, to demolish and clear away, with his own hand, a faulty and defective system, before he could erect an efficient one in its place.

The work of demolition, however, constituted but a very small portion, of the task to be performed. To establish a new system, under all the circumstances and disabilities of the time, was almost *to create* it, in the original and true signification of the term.

Of many of its means, appertaining to the quartermaster department, the country, having never been rich in them, was now exhausted, by the operations of war. To provide, for these, such substitutes, as might supply the deficiencies thus created, required an amount of fiscal information, connected with an extent and fertility of resources, to which few men, of the day, had any solid or legitimate pretension.

In relation to a circulating medium, the utmost disorder and irregularity prevailed. Of gold and silver, in the public treasury, there was none: nor were there any means of drawing them, from the private coffers of those who might possess them. The paper currency of the country, already in low estimation, was depreciating so rapidly, as to render it impossible to fix its value. Almost every week, the standard of appreciation was changed. Hence arose an equal fluctuation, in prices and contracts.

Some degree of uncertainty still hanging over the issue of the war, even in the estimation of the most sanguine, public credit was alarmingly low. With

the cautious and the disaffected, and these were numerous, it was entirely extinct.

But the catalogue of existing evils did not terminate here. Light as the paper money was, the amount of it, in circulation, was far below the demands of the country. Members of congress, and officers, of the highest rank, were frequently in want of a sufficiency of it, to pay for a night's lodging, or a meal in a tavern. Even general Greene, at the head of the quarter-master department, where money is the sinew of every operation, was, oftentimes, unable to command a dollar; while, driven almost to desperation, by the exigencies of their situations, his deputies and agents were pressing him for millions. Money could not be procured, because the treasury was empty; and to make purchases without it, even of articles most imperiously wanted, was, at times, impossible.

Abundant evidence of the truth of this, appears in the official correspondence of the department; in various letters from the commander in chief, addressed to congress; and in other authentic documents of the time, of which the public have long been in possession. To dwell in proof of it, would be, therefore, superfluous.

There were, in the present case, still other causes, which added to the duties of the quarter-master general, and increased, not a little, the difficulties of his office.

The scene of military operations, for which he had to provide, was, for a time, unusually extensive; reaching from the state of Massachusetts, to that of Georgia. Articles essential to the service, and immediately wanted, in one part of the country, were procurable only in another, at a great distance, and separated by roads and rivers, of difficult passage. The enemy being in undisputed possession of the sea, transportations and conveyances, of every description, were to be made by land. The expense, labour, and delay, which arose out of this, were exceedingly embarrassing. By any, but minds of the firmest texture, and most determined resolution, and perseverance, they would have been regarded as obstacles not to be surmounted.

So defective, at this period, was the general arrangement of the staff of the army, that, for a time, the department of commissary, was partly incorporated, with that of quarter-master. The latter had to provide, by a process, that was, thus, rendered exceedingly complicated, as well for the procurement

and issuing, as for the storing and transportation, of provisions.

The supervision of the armories, also, no less than that of the arsenals, of the nation, devolved, entirely, on the same department.

These extra-duties, superadded to the ordinary ones, of procuring the munitions of war, exploring the strength, and fitness of certain tracks of country, with a view to the selection of positions for encampments, of providing for the transportation, equipment, and accommodation, of the troops, and of determining, occasionally, the routes, by which they were to march—All these difficulties and duties combined, imposed on the quarter-master general, a weight of responsibility, and an amount of incongruous, and distracting cares, which it has rarely been the fortune of an individual to encounter.

But this mass of employment, although vast, chaotic, and ponderous, did not prove intractable. No sooner had it been under his direction, a sufficient length of time, to feel the influence of his systematic mind, than it began to exhibit order and regularity, springing from confusion. The melioration, in the state of things, which, speedily ensued, was felt by the army, throughout every department. Instead of the disorder and entanglement, which had, hereto-

fore, prevailed, the business of the department became simple, clear, and comparatively easy. Those who, before, had considered the administration of it almost impracticable, were astonished, now, at the mistake they had committed. They had examined it, originally, as it was in itself, and found it crude, shapeless and unmanageable; they, now, beheld it, in the form it had assumed, under the auspices of a great practical mind; and perceived in it little else than arrangement, order and facility. A vigorous and efficient condition of things, having succeeded to that which had been feeble and ruinous, the operations could scarcely be recognized, as belonging to a department of labour or difficulty.

Such is the prosperous and salutary issue, where industry and integrity, are enlightened by genius, and directed by judgment.

Compared with its former state of destitution, the army, now, had but few wants. In garrison, it was well provided, comfortable, and secure: in the field, it could move with celerity, and strike with effect. Instead of being deficient, when actually called for, to the delay of operations, and the injury of the service, all means, whether of annoyance, accommodation, or defence, were generally provided, in anticipation.

The result of this encouraging melioration, in the state of military affairs, is much more easily conceived than expressed. The soldiers became more contented, and confident in themselves; the hopes of the officers were brightened and confirmed; the campaigns were rendered more active, vigorous, and effective; and the spirits of the people were relieved from despondency. In relation to the issue of the pending conflict, instead of deep apprehension, and gloomy foreboding, even the most timid and wavering, were rarely heard to intimate a doubt. Whatever losses or temporary reverses might happen, in future, it was now made manifest, to every observer, that the country possessed an abundance of resources, which, when called forth with energy, and arrayed, in her defence, would render irresistible the arms of her legions, and constitute, around her independence, an impenetrable rampart.

Such was the happy effect of Greene's administration of the quarter-master department; for which, on retiring from it, he carried with him the approbation of congress, and received the thanks of the commander in chief.

Notwithstanding his superior competency to the duties of it, and the large and solid additions he made to his reputation, by his able discharge of them, the



office afforded him no gratification. On the contrary, he felt it a privation, from which he was exceedingly solicitous to be relieved. It abstracted him too much from that walk of military life, in which, alone, it was his ambition to move. As he originally accepted it, therefore, so he held it, only from a sense of paramount duty, until, having perfectly systematized it, and rendered its operations simple in themselves, and easy to his successor, he might be enabled to resign it, to the satisfaction of his country, and without any injury to the public service.

In the mean time, he took, on two occasions, during his administration of it, a high and distinguished part, in the field; the first, in the battle of Monmouth; the second, in a very brilliant expedition, against the enemy in Rhode Island, under the command of general Sullivan.

Being, by the vigilance, policy, and enterprise of Washington, so strictly confined to his lines, and so seriously menaced, on various points, as to be experiencing many of the inconveniencies of a siege, general Clinton, now commander in chief of the British forces, resolved on evacuating the city of Philadelphia. This resolution he carried into effect, on the 18th of June, 1778.

Having passed the Delaware, at Gloucester point, his movements through New Jersey, in the direction towards New York, were so exceedingly slow, that, in seven days, he had marched somewhat less than forty miles.

For this lingering advance, no plausible reason could be assigned, except a wish, on the part of Clinton, to engage his adversary in a general action.

To gratify him, in this, the American commander was, by no means, disinclined. On the contrary, believing himself amply prepared for the encounter, he was unusually solicitous to bring it on; and was prevented only, by the opinion of his officers, deliberately expressed, in a council of war, that the step would be too hazardous for prudence to adopt.

From this decision, general Wayne, whose gallantry and love of action, were pre-eminent, openly dissented. General Greene, although he did not publicly recommend it, was also known to be secretly favourable to the policy of an engagement. In the selection, however, of a position for battle, he thought that great circumspection ought to be used.

Finding himself thus supported and strengthened, in his views, general Washington determined to adopt, on his own responsibility, such measures, as could

not fail to bring the enemy to action. This he effected on the 28th of June, near Monmouth court-house, in the state of New Jersey.

In that severe and sanguinary affair, general Greene, who, entrusted with the command of the right wing of the Americans, was ordered to advance on the enemy, by a route somewhat circuitous, and then attack as circumstances might direct, distinguished himself greatly, by his judgment and skill.

Although somewhat disconcerted, at first, by the unexpected retreat of the van of the army, under general Lee, he selected, notwithstanding, such an advantageous position, and made so judicious an arrangement of his troops, as to contribute essentially to the success of the day.

In the course of the action, a strong detachment of the enemy, made a bold and threatening attempt, to turn the right of the American line, and attack them in flank. In this they were defeated, by the vigilance of Greene; who threw himself in their front, and, after an obstinate conflict, drove them back, with considerable slaughter. He, also, from a well chosen and commanding position, directed, from his cannon, with great effect, an enfilading fire, against a party of the British, who were menacing the left.

For their achievements, on this occasion, the American forces received very high and deserved applause. Darkness having suspended the contest, they rested on their arms, in very advantageous positions, resolved on renewing it, with the return of morning. In this determination, and in full hope of a glorious victory; general Washington, who, throughout the day, had signalized himself, in presence of his troops, by personal toil, and a disregard of danger, reposed, on his cloak, in the midst of his soldiers. But he was frustrated, in his views of a second engagement, by the caution of the enemy, who, deeply affected, by the chastisement he had already experienced, and apprehensive of something more disastrous, in the approaching conflict, retreated, during the night, under such circumstances, as fairly amounted to an acknowledgment of a defeat.

For his "great good conduct" in this action, the thanks of congress were voted, unanimously, to general Washington, who was requested to communicate the same mark of public approbation, to the officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the battle. In performing this duty, the commander in chief made honourable mention of the generals, Greene and Wayne, with the columns they commanded. Indeed, with the exception of the first

unfortunate movement, made by general Lee, at the head of the front division, the army, in general, did all that its country, and its commander, could wish. Even that division, when afterwards formed, by order of Washington, maintained its ground, with undaunted firmness, and fought with great resolution.

France was, now, in alliance with the United States; and, to cooperate with her, in the existing war, a powerful fleet, with land forces, on board, under the command of lieutenant general, count d'Estaing, arrived in our waters, in the month of July, 1778.

General Pigot, with a division of about six thousand British troops, had been, for some time, in possession of Newport, in the state of Rhode Island.

The arrival of the French fleet, afforded a favourable opportunity, for operating against that post, both by sea and land; the only mode, in which it could be assailed, with any reasonable prospect of success.

An expedition of the combined forces, for its reduction, was accordingly concerted; to be under the command of general Sullivan. General Greene, being a native of Rhode Island, and of high popularity and influence, in that state, it was deemed important, that he should be present, as second in command.

He received orders, therefore, to proceed, at the head of a detachment of continental troops, and join general Sullivan, in the projected enterprise.

A duty more consonant to his spirit, or more peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of his heart, could not have been assigned him.

His return to his native state, to liberate, from military domination and rapacity, the soil his infant feet had trodden, and the patrons, friends, and associates of his youth, was hailed, by the inhabitants, with general and lively demonstrations of joy. With an alacrity and promptitude, unprecedented, in the place, the militia of the state, with several companies from that of Massachusetts, crowded to his standard, anxious to receive his commands, and signalize, in his presence, their patriotism and valour. Hope beamed from every countenance, and a confidence was enkindled, in every bosom, that the hour of vengeance, on their haughty and tyrannical invaders, was at hand. In that particular section of the country, and at that moment of enthusiasm, and laudable pride, the name of Greene, was scarcely inferior to that of Washington. Although but second, or, rather, third, in rank, count d'Estaing being equal in command with general Sullivan, every eye was fixed on him, as the soul and tutelary genius of the enterprise.

Even leading members of the society of Friends, who had very reluctantly excluded him from their communion, did not hesitate to express their sincere satisfaction, at the elevation he had attained, in the confidence of his country. They often visited him, at his quarters, partook of his hospitality, and conversed with him freely, on public affairs.

Nor did their kindness and attention, terminate in the mere exterior of social intercourse. Through the liberality of their spirit, his table was, oftentimes, very bounteously supplied, with the choicest viands, fruits, and wines, that their farms, orchards, and cellars afforded. One of these plain gentlemen, being asked, in jest, by a young officer, how he, an advocate of peace, could reconcile it to his conscience, to keep so much company with general Greene, whose profession was war? promptly replied, "friend, it is not a suit of uniform, that can either make, or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many-coloured apparel, (pointing to the officer's dress;) but, whatever may be the form or colour of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head, and virtuous heart, that gained him the love and esteem of our society. As I believe it would be in vain, for me, to endeavour to persuade him to relinquish his present dress and mode of life, I have no other

way to partake of his society, but to visit him, as he is; and that is a satisfaction, I am unwilling to resign."

Another gentleman, a member of high standing, in the same society, was heard to declare, that, with the exception of his having adopted the profession of arms, his "neighbour, Nathaniel Greene, was one of the most correct, and unoffending men, he had ever known. It is true," continued he, "that he had, always, a disposition, to influence others, and make them think, and act with him; but this he never attempted, by unfair means: he did it, by convincing them, that they were wrong and he was right; and this was his custom, when he was a very young man."

These testimonials are the more valuable, because they relate to private worth; and are furnished by men, under no temptation to deceive, who had long and familiarly known the subject of them.

The French admiral showing a strong disposition to an abandonment of his part of the combined operations, against the enemy, general Greene, by order of general Sullivan, repaired on board his flag ship, to confer with him, and, if necessary, to remonstrate, on the subject. This he did, with great earnestness, pertinency and force; but without the effect, which the validity of his arguments was calculated to produce.



He expatiated, at large, on the certainty of success, should the sea and land forces faithfully co-operate; and urged, with great clearness, the grounds, on which he formed his calculations, and, built his confidence. He represented, on the other hand, the certainty of a failure, should either party prove deficient in his engagement.

He stated, that the result of the expedition, if successfully terminated, besides being glorious, in itself, would be important to France, as well as to America; and, that the chief discredit of a failure, which could not be inconsiderable, would attach to the arms of that nation, where the delinquency should be found.

He further urged, the unhappy effect a relinquishment of the enterprise, on the part of France, would necessarily produce on the minds of the American people. That it would destroy confidence, and excite irritation, among the partisans of freedom; weaken their attachment to their friends and allies, the French; and give to their secret foes, as well as to the common enemy, cause of exultation, and ground for severe animadversion and discouraging inferences, touching the wisdom, the good faith, and the effects of their alliance.

These, and other topics of argument, equally cogent and conclusive, were pressed in vain, on the

mind of an officer, whom no one present had a right to control; and who was determined to follow, at every hazard, his own inclination.

The French fleet having, at length, disappeared, and the American forces being left, in a critical situation, to contend, with the enemy, single handed, the utmost policy and skill, on the part of the general officers, became requisite to save the army from ruin.

It was now that the sagacity, penetration, and resources of general Greene, were developed, to an extent, which they had not before exhibited. They evidently expanded, with the increase of difficulty and danger, so as to be always a counterbalance to the pressure of the emergency. His advice, under every aspect of the varying state of affairs, appeared to be the pure emanation of wisdom; and success or failure invariably ensued, according as it was followed or neglected, by general Sullivan. In one case, in particular, it, afterwards, appeared, that an adoption of it, would have placed in the power of the Americans, a large section of the British army.

After a severe action, in which the American forces manifested the utmost firmness, and fought with great effect, general Greene, predicting that a large reinforcement of the enemy, from New York, must be near at hand, advised the commander in chief of

the station, to retreat from the island, without further delay.

Providentially the advice was followed. General Greene signalized himself, by his skill, activity, and judgment, in conducting the retreat, which was but just effected, when the anticipated reinforcement, actually appeared. Had this movement, which took place, chiefly, in the night, been delayed but a few hours, the capture, or destruction of the army of Sullivan would have been inevitable.

Although, from the defection of the allies, this well planned expedition, entirely failed, the American troops, engaged in it, received, for their bravery and good conduct, more especially, for their masterly retreat, the entire approbation of the commander in chief, and of congress, communicated in an official and complimentary resolution.

Throughout the year 1779, general Greene was occupied, exclusively, in the extensive concerns of the quarter master department. At least, it does not appear, from any documents we have been able to procure, that, during that period, he was actively employed in the duties of the field. Letters written, by him, towards the close of the year, strongly indicate, in him, a growing desire, to relinquish the staff, and return entirely to the department of the line. Nor

was it long, until he was gratified, in his predominant wish. Having reduced the business of the department, to such system and order, that it might, now, be conducted by inferior abilities, he claimed the privilege of retiring from it; and was permitted, by congress, to resign the appointment. The marks of approbation he received, on this occasion were flattering, but just. "You have rendered," said the commander in chief, "the path of duty, in the quarter master department, so broad and plain, that it will not be easy for your successors to mistake it."

In the month of June 1780, the state of New Jersey was invaded, from Staten Island, then in possession of the enemy, by a division of five thousand British troops, under the command of general Knyp-hausen. The landing was secretly effected, in the night, at Elizabethtown point.

The objects of this expedition were various; to favour desertion, in the American soldiery, who were believed, by the British, to be tired of the service; to encourage the disaffected, in the state of New Jersey, to embody themselves, in military corps, and repair to the royal standard; but, more especially, to reduce an American post, and carry off, or destroy, some magazines and military stores, established at Morris-town.

To frustrate the views of the enemy, particularly in relation to the last object, general Greene, at the head of a small division, of the American army, threw himself in their front, and took possession of a strong position, near Springfield.

On the advance of the British, a conflict ensued, in which the ground was very obstinately disputed, much individual gallantry displayed, and, on both sides, no inconsiderable slaughter produced.

Although not actually repulsed, the enemy were so stunned, in this affair, as to be unable to advance. Notwithstanding the great inferiority of his numbers, Greene, from the heights, where he posted himself, presented such a stern and threatening aspect, as to hold his adversary completely in check, until reinforcements arrived; when, apprehensive of some stratagem, which might cut off his retreat, general Knyphausen fell back hastily, in the night, to Elizabethtown point, the place of his debarkation.

Thus were the stores and magazines, at Morristown, saved, the spirits of the disaffected, kept in a state of continued depression, and those of the friends of freedom invigorated.

For his judgment and good conduct, in this affair, general Greene received the thanks of the comman-

der in chief, and was directed to communicate the same to his troops.

It was during this marauding and disgraceful incursion, so unworthy of a civilized and disciplined army, that the British forces, wantonly set fire to the village of Connecticut farms, which had offered no resistance to them, and where not even an armed individual was stationed; and, that a soldier of the division, forgetful of every thing belonging to manhood, inhumanly and deliberately, shot the wife of the reverend James Caldwell, the presbyterian pastor of Elizabethtown, while seated in her parlour, in the midst of her children.

For this vindictive and demoniacal deed, no other cause could be assigned, than the activity and influence of Mr. Caldwell, in inducing the militia of the neighbouring district, to rally, like men, around the standard of their country.

The pastor was eloquent. His powers of persuasion he zealously employed, in the cause of freedom; and for this, a dastardly assassin, was suffered, with impunity, to sully the reputation of a British army, by the murder of his consort!!

An act so foul, unsoldierly and bloody, humanity would bury in everlasting forgetfulness, did not justice demand that it be publicly recorded.

Had not general Knyphausen approved of the deed, the wretch, who perpetrated it, would have, immediately expiated his guilt on a gibbet: had not the commander in chief of the royal forces, in America, approved of it, general Knyphausen would have been arrested, tried, and disgraced: and, had not the British court approved of it, the commander in chief, if subjected to no other form of punishment, would have been recalled from a trust, he had so flagrantly violated, and degraded from the ranks of military honour!!

Against the court, that sanctioned it, being itself supreme, no other earthly penalty can be enforced, but the deep abhorrence of the virtuous and the humane!!—a forfeit which it has, long since, been compelled to pay.

Not long after this, it was the lot of general Greene, to be called to the performance of a duty, the most trying and painful, he had ever encountered. No event, could possibly have occurred, better calculated, to set his judgment and his feelings completely at variance. Nor, firm as he was, did he find it easy, to repress sensibility, and bring his heart into due subjection, and ready obedience, to the mandates of duty.

But the public good required, that the sterner virtues should prevail. A consciousness of this, support-

ing him, in the distressing conflict he experienced, he manifested, a degree of wisdom and firmness, which has rarely been equalled, and could not be surpassed.

We allude to the melancholy affair of major Andre, adjutant general to the British army, who was captured, in disguise, within the American lines.

The history of that gallant, but unfortunate officer, is sufficiently known. It is only requisite we should state, at present, that, to give fairness, weight, and dignity, to the proceedings, the commander in chief convened, for his trial, a court composed of fourteen general officers, La Fayette and Steuben, being two of the number, in which general Greene was appointed to preside.

The deportment of the prisoner, young, elegant, of superior intellect, and highly accomplished, was magnanimous and affecting, beyond, perhaps, what had ever been witnessed, on a similar occasion.

Life was not the object, he was anxious to preserve. The love of that, he had, long since, as an officer, learnt to commute for the love of honour. In proportion, therefore, as the latter passion had been cultivated and strengthened, the former had been neglected, and suffered to decay.

To preserve his reputation, from the stain of treason, constituted, now, his only care. To effect that,



he laboured most earnestly, and in a manner that was peculiarly touching to the heart of sensibility.

When summoned to his trial, he frankly disclosed, without interrogatory, all that bore heaviest on his own life, but inviolably concealed whatever might endanger the safety of others. His confessions were conclusive, and no witness was examined against him. The court were unanimous, that he had been taken as a spy, and must suffer death.

Of this sentence he did not complain. He knew it was just, and was prepared to meet it, without a murmur, provided the mode of his death were rendered acceptable to him.

His companions in arms, the friends of his bosom, and the world, at large, with all the enjoyments it had appeared, but lately, to hold in store, for him, he cheerfully resigned. But, he still had one remaining wish, that clung to his heart, with a lingering fondness, which nothing could alienate, and a force of adhesion, which nothing could subdue. It was, that he might be permitted to close a life of honour, by a professional death, and not be compelled, like a common felon, to expire on a gibbet.

To this effect, he made, in a letter to general Washington, written on the evening preceding his execu-

tion, one of the most pathetic and powerful appeals, that ever fell from the pen of a mortal.

Staggered, in his resolution, the commander in chief referred the subject, accompanied by the letter, to his general officers, who, with one exception, became unanimous, in their desire, that Andre should be shot.

That exception was found in general Greene, the president of the court. He, although his heart was softened by the tenderest sympathy, and penetrated with the keenest sorrow, for the prisoner's fate, declared, notwithstanding, that the indulgence solicited, could, in no shape, be granted.

“Andre,” said he, “is either a spy, or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him, in any way, will be murder: if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it, short of the execution of the prisoner, as a common spy; a character, of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one, may be death to thousands. Through mistaken sensibility,

humanity may be wounded, and the cause of freedom sustain an injury you cannot remedy.

“Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicions, which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general, that, in the case of major Andre, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity, beyond what he received—perhaps entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free.”

This reasoning being considered conclusive, the prisoner suffered as a common spy.

The preponderance of general Greene's opinion, and the firmness and decision, which marked his conduct, throughout the whole of this tragical affair, gave rise to a declaration, circulated, at the time, and repeated since, on various occasions, that he, himself, constituted the court, in which major Andre was tried and convicted.

He was, doubtless, the ablest and weightiest member of that court, and, the commander in chief alone excepted, the most influential officer in the army. Of the truth of this, no evidence is requisite, beyond what is contained in the foregoing statement.

Let it not be alleged, that, in this instance, general Greene was devoid of feeling. The reverse is most true. His heart was as compassionate, as his intellect was powerful. He had the rare merit, in despite of feeling, and in opposition to the tide of public sentiment, to be rigorously just.

## CHAPTER IV.

Greene having, heretofore, acted in a secondary capacity, is now transferred to the command of the army of the south, where, left to follow the bent of his genius, his great character is more perfectly developed—condition of the southern department—character of the war, in that quarter—atrocities of the British—Buford's defeat, cruelties of—causes of the sanguinary character of the war, in the south—marked with more of private passion, and individual adventure, than in the north—rich in partisan enterprise, and chivalrous exploit—character and conduct of general Marion—of general Sumpter—of general Pickins—of colonel Davie—the spirit of the country sustained, and the enemy greatly annoyed, by these four partisan officers—reception of the British army, in Charlotte—defeat of colonel Ferguson, and its effects—singular enterprise of colonel White—Battle of Ramsaour's mill—description of the combatants—the romantic gallantry, displayed by the whigs—death of captain Falls avenged by his son, a youth of fourteen—deadly aim of the tory riflemen.

IN those scenes, through which we have hitherto traced his military career, general Greene acted only in a subordinate capacity. The outline of his conduct being prescribed, by others, little else than the mere details, were committed to his own sagacity and judgment.

Thus situated, he was neither absolute master of his own actions, nor sole proprietor of his own fame. If he failed, in any point of service, the fault might not be entirely imputable to himself; and, if success-

ful, no inconsiderable portion of the renown, passed to the credit of his superiors in command.

In this state of subordination and control, where the exercise of his talents had been, necessarily, restricted, it was scarcely possible for him, to have a competent knowledge of himself, much less, to manifest to the world, the boldness of his views, the extent of his resources, the energies of his character, and his general fitness, for the high duties of military command.

Secondary capacities appear to most advantage, when under the direction of superior intellects; and shine most brightly, with borrowed lustre. But true genius shrinks and withers, under the influence of supervision; and, to be really great, must be absolutely free. In no man's history is this truth more incontestibly established, than in that of him, whose life we are portraying.

We have, now, advanced to that period of the revolutionary war, in which the situation of Greene is about to experience an entire change. No longer acting in the vicinity, or subject to the immediate orders, of a superior, we are to behold him, in future, removed to a distance, and virtually invested with the supreme command, of a large section of the United States.

The theatre of war, on which he is, now, to exhibit himself, is, in extent, commensurate with abilities of the widest compass; and the difficulties and dangers, he is destined to encounter, are sufficiently formidable, to test, the fortitude and firmness, of the most unyielding spirit, and give ample employment to all the resources of talents and skill. Rarely has a leader of armies, in any country, been placed in a situation, so fearfully calculated, to measure the genius and try the soul.

Greatly to acquit himself, under such circumstances, must rank general Greene with the ablest captains, and inscribe his name, on the brightest roll of military glory.

With a few rare and brilliant exceptions, the war, from its first commencement, in the south, had been, in that quarter, but little else, than a series of disasters, to the arms of freedom.

After a resistance highly honourable to them, Charleston and Savannah had both fallen; post after post had been carried, in rapid succession, and detachments cut off, in various places; under the generals, Lincoln and Gates, two whole armies had been captured or destroyed; the wealthy states, of South Carolina and Georgia, had submitted to the enemy who, triumphant at the past, and with prospects of

continued success exceedingly flattering, were preparing to penetrate further to the north; and, to secure obedience to the conquerors, and encourage the disaffected Americans, numerous bodies of the royal forces, were strongly garrisoned, in well selected stations.

To add to the miseries, and deepen, still further, the gloom of the times, the spirit of the people was shattered and depressed; from frequent interruptions, by being summoned to the field, or banished from their homes by hostile incursions, and a distressing uncertainty as to their future destinies, their habits of industry were alarmingly impaired; in consequence of a defective state of cultivation, the soil of the country was comparatively unproductive; and, by military exactions, and the devastating operations of war, the surplus of provisions, beyond the actual wants of the inhabitants, was entirely consumed. In every direction, as far as the hand of rapacity, and the unrelenting sword of violence could reach, that fair and valuable section of the Union, was marked with outrage, desolation, and blood.

Such being the melancholy condition of affairs, it may not be uninteresting, to pause, for a moment, to contemplate the causes, by which it was produced.



For various reasons, the war, in the south, was much more than ordinarily ferocious and sanguinary. The population of the states, being comparatively scattered and feeble, it appeared to be the object of the British commanders, to crush resistance, by acts, which, while they destroyed, by their violence, might terrify, by their enormity. Hence, seldom, in the annals of infuriated man, has the power of the victor been more flagrantly abused; or his sword more wantonly dyed in blood.

A single instance, out of many that might be adduced, may serve in confirmation of this truth. It is found in the savage massacre, known by the appellation of "Buford's defeat."

When, in the spring of 1780, Charleston fell, colonel Buford, commanding a small detachment of American regulars, was in the neighbourhood of Camden. On the advance of lord Cornwallis, he fell back, towards North Carolina. His march being slow, colonel Tarleton, who, with his legion, was despatched, in pursuit, overtook him, in the settlement of the Waxhaws, on the 29th of May.

Seeing himself greatly outnumbered, and in the power of his enemy, the American commander offered to surrender, on the same terms, that had been granted to the regulars, captured in Charleston. Not

doubting that the proposal would be accepted, he, very improperly, neglected to arrange his troops, in order of battle, and prepare for resistance.

But colonel Tarleton had other views. Blood, not prisoners, appeared to be his object.

Refusing the proposed conditions of surrender, which both policy and honour invited him to accept, he broke off the conference, and suddenly charged his unprepared enemy.

The scene which followed, was one of the most shocking and disgraceful, that has ever tarnished the sword of war. In the blood-stained records of the hatchet and the scalping knife, there is nothing to surpass it. Add the stake and the fagot, and you complete the climax of human barbarity.

Perceiving that resistance would be unavailing, the Americans submitted, at discretion, and sued for quarters. But the moving petition, so sacred with the brave, was lost in air. Regardless of supplication, and callous to the voice of humanity and mercy, Tarleton permitted, if he did not order, the butchery to go on. He was, even, declared to be himself among the foremost, in the immolation of his victims.

The trophies of the day, should be recorded in blood. One hundred and thirteen Americans were assassinated, on the spot; one hundred and fifty, so

badly wounded, that they were paroled, and left on the field to die; and fifty-three, being able to move, were made prisoners, and, their wounds undressed, marched, in triumph, by the victors, to Camden.

This inhuman transaction, the author of which, from sound policy, from every sentiment honourable to man, and every principle of legitimate warfare, lord Cornwallis was bound to punish, was not even marked, by his lordship's disapprobation.

The American people, it seriously afflicted, and produced, in the mind of the military, a stern resolution, to visit the enemy with a terrible retaliation.

From the preceding lamentable state of things, arose, on the part of the Americans, more of embittered resentment, and angry passions, than is usually connected with military operations. As often, therefore, as the parties met, they seemed to fight for extermination, rather than victory. This was the case, at least, in small partisan affairs, which, from the nature of the contest, were much more numerous, in the southern, than in the northern, department of the states.

Another circumstance, which added much to the blood-shed, and desolation of the times, was, that the population of those states was more equally divided, than elsewhere, between royalists, and adherents to the cause of freedom; or, as they were commonly de-

nominated, Whigs, and Tories. From this were engendered in their most terrific form, that mutual animosity and deadly hate, which always characterize civil wars, and usually convert them into systematized scenes of assassination and rapine.

With dispositions as fell and vindictive, as all the sanguinary passions could render them, neighbour was reciprocally arrayed against neighbour, brother against brother, and even father against son. Neither in the darkness of the night, the inclosures of dwelling houses, the depths of forests, nor the entanglements of the swamps and morasses of the country, was security to be found. Places of secrecy and retreat, being known, alike, to both parties, afforded no asylum; but were, oftentimes, marked with the most shocking barbarities. The murderer, in his ambush, and the warriors in their ambuscade, being, thus, in the daily perpetration of deeds of violence and blood, travelling became almost as dangerous as battle. Strangers, of whom nothing was known, and who appeared to be quietly pursuing their journey, were oftentimes shot down, or otherwise assassinated, in the public road. Whole districts of country resembled our frontier settlements, during the prevalence of an Indian war. Even when engaged, in their common concerns, the inhabitants wore arms, prepared alike for attack, or defence.

But this is not all. The period was marked with another source of slaughter, which added, not a little, to its fatal character. Participating in the murderous spirit of the times, slaves, that were, in many places, numerous and powerful, rose against their masters, armed with whatever weapon of destruction, accident or secret preparation might supply. In these scenes of horror, the knife, the hatchet, and the poisoned cup, were indiscriminately employed. Some whole families were strangled by their slaves, while, by the same hands, others were consumed, amid the blaze of their dwellings, in the dead of night.

These dispositions, in the population, generally, inflamed by the ardour, and urged by the force, of southern passions, were sublimed to a pitch, to which the more temperate people of the north were strangers. For, whatever be the issue of the question, touching the effect of climate, on the strength of intellect, no doubt can be entertained, that a warm climate, surpasses a cold one, in awakening sensibility, and giving tone to passion.

But if the war of the south was maddened, in its character, by private deeds of more atrocity and blood, it was also, ennobled, by more signal instances, of individual and partisan valour and enterprise. Scarce-

ly do the most high-drawn heroes of fiction, surpass, in their darings and extraordinary achievements, many of those real ones, who figured in the southern states, during the conflict of the revolution.

A correct and forcible picture, were it possible to delineate it, of all the individual deeds, of the south, during that memorable period, would constitute, one of the most curious and chivalrous productions, of modern times. Such a work, complete in its matter, and clothed in a style sufficiently descriptive, would possess the variety and interest of *Don Quixotte*, without its extravagance. The preparation of it, besides being creditable to the country, would ensure to its author, a liberal reward.

To portray the meteor-like course of hardihood and exploit, traced by general Marion, and his heroic followers, might be considered, perhaps, an unwarrantable departure from the path, which the nature of these memoirs requires us to pursue. Yet, were it possible to do justice to the undertaking, it would constitute a digression, rich in matter of admiration and delight, to the lovers of bravery and romantic adventure.

Never was a partisan officer better suited to the times, in which he lived, and the situation, in which it was his fortune to act.

For stratagems, unlooked-for enterprises against the enemy, and devices for concealing his own positions and movements, he had no rival.

The tract of country, over which he reigned, the trust and safe-guard of his friends, the terror of his foes, and the astonishment of every one, abounded in thickets, morasses, and swamps, of uncommon extent.

To those deep and dreary solitudes, he was often obliged to retreat, for safety, when severely pressed, by an overwhelming force. On these occasions, to pursue him into his fastnesses, was as useless, as it was dangerous. Never, in a single instance, was he overtaken, in his course, or discovered, in his hiding place, unless he voluntarily faced his pursuers; in which case, such was his selection of time and position, as to make victory certain. Even some of his own party, anxious for his safety, and well acquainted with many of the places of his retreat, have sought for him, whole days, in his immediate neighbourhood, without finding him. Suddenly and unexpectedly, in some distant point, he would, again, appear, pouncing on his enemy, like the falcon on his quarry.

Possessed of great sagacity, and coolness, he was cautious of enterprise, when success appeared doubtful. For no one more conscientiously avoided a wanton exposure of the lives of his troops; or could bet-

ter appreciate, the effect of a failure, if not on the spirits of his intrepid associates, at least, on those of many of his friends. But, when a fair opening for action presented itself, there was a rapidity, in his movement, which enabled him, often, to assault a distant enemy, by surprise; a suddenness, in his stroke, which astonished and confounded; and a desperation, in his valour, which was seldom resisted. These high and rare qualities, conducted him, repeatedly, into the arms of victory, when the force he encountered was tenfold the number of that he commanded.

The territory, over which this eagle warrior swept his banner, was of considerable extent. During the period of his predominancy, he converted it into a partial solitude; not by cruelty, for of that he was incapable; but, by that vigilance, ubiquity, and military address, which rendered an abandonment of the place, by his enemies, the only practicable means of their safety. In battle, he was the chafed tiger; but to the prisoner who submitted, and in private life, humane and tender.

General Marion was a native of South Carolina; and the immediate theatre of his exploits, was a large section of the maritime district of that state, around Georgetown. The peculiar hardihood of his constitution, and its being accommodated to a warm cli-



mate, and a low, marshy country, qualified him to endure hardships, and submit to exposures, which, in that sickly region, few other men would have been competent to sustain. With the small force, he was enabled to embody, and situated, in all respects, as he was, it is exceedingly doubtful, if any other individual on earth, could have rendered to his country the same amount of services, or done the enemy as much mischief. In warfare of a different character, he had no marked superiority, over many others. So important, in all things, is a perfect adaptation of the means to the end; and, that each individual, should move, as far as practicable, in the sphere that suits him.

In the following adventure of general Marion, which the writer of these memoirs, has often heard related, and believes to be true, the reader may, perhaps, find some degree of interest.

That officer, whose stature was diminutive, and his person uncommonly light, rode, when in service, one of the fleetest and most powerful chargers, the south could produce. When in fair pursuit, nothing could escape, and, when retreating, nothing could overtake him.

Being once nearly surrounded, by a party of British dragoons, he was compelled, for safety, to pass into a corn field, by leaping the fence.

This field, marked with a considerable descent, of surface, had been, in part, a marsh. Marion enter-

ed it, at the upper side. The dragoons, in chase, leapt the fence also, and were but a short distance behind him. So completely was he, now, within their power, that his only mode of escape, was to pass over the fence at the lower side.

But here lay a difficulty, which, to all but himself, appeared insurmountable.

To drain the ground of its superfluous waters, a trench had been cut around this part of the field, four feet wide, and of the same depth. Of the mud and clay, removed, in cutting it, a bank had been formed, on its inner side, and on top of this, was erected the fence.

The elevation of the whole, amounted to more than seven feet, perpendicular height, a ditch, four feet in width, running parallel with it, on the outside, and a foot, or more, of space, intervening, between the fence and the ditch.

The dragoons, acquainted with the nature and extent of this obstacle, and considering it impossible for their enemy to pass it, pressed towards him, with loud shouts of exultation and insult, and summoned him to surrender, or perish, by the sword.

Regardless of their rudeness, and empty clamour, and inflexibly determined, not to become their prisoner, Marion spurred his horse to the charge.

The noble animal, as if conscious that his master's life was in danger, and, that, on his exertion depended its safety, approached the barrier, in his finest style, and, with a bound, that was almost supernatural, cleared, completely, the fence and ditch, and recovered himself, without injury, on the opposite side.

Marion now facing his pursuers, who had halted at the fence, unable to pass it, discharged his pistols at them, without effect, and then, wheeling his horse, and bidding them "good morning," with an air of triumph, dashed into an adjoining thicket, and disappeared in an instant.

Astonished at what they had witnessed, and scarcely believing their foe to be mortal, the dragoons immediately abandoned the pursuit.

In another district of the same state, more elevated, drier, and, therefore, more healthy, but, less suited to partisan and predatory operations, because less abundant in fortresses and retreats, flourished general Sumpter, a second warrior of freedom, terrible in action, and peculiarly fitted, for the place he occupied.

Greatly superior to general Marion, in personal strength, and trusting less to stratagem and skill, he placed his fortune, much more exclusively, on his daring resolution, and the execution of his sword. Warm in temperament, and devoted to his country,

whatever could contribute to rescue her from the invader, and establish her independence, became an object of his ardent affection. He was also enamoured of brilliant achievement, for its own sake. To victory, and the glory attending it, he would cut his way through every danger, regardless alike of his own blood, and that of his enemy.

Into his brave associates, the hardy and powerful sons of the hilly country, he infused an abundant portion, of his own spirit. Attached to his person, and inflamed, by his enthusiasm, this dauntless corps followed him, with alacrity, through every difficulty, and every peril. To them, as to himself, the sight of an enemy became an object of pleasure. Accustomed to conquer, even when greatly outnumbered, they regarded the order, to prepare for battle, as little else than an invitation to triumph.

This was peculiarly the case, when none but royalists were the object of their attack.

Thus formidable in himself, and his followers, the Tories of his district, began to tremble at the approach, and even the name of Sumpter; and the British, themselves, were compelled to respect him.

His only object being, the conquest or destruction of his enemy, and the liberation of his country, he was not very scrupulous, in his mode of warfare.

Retaliation, in every form, he deemed justifiable. Hence, he sternly retorted, on his adversaries, whatever means they employed against him. If they inhumanly resorted to conflagration or the gibbet, he was not very reluctant to avenge the outrage, by similar measures. The entire annihilation of an invading foe, whose end was subjugation, and every form of violence, their means, as well as of the miscreant inhabitants, who flocked to their banner, he held to be a duty.

Possessing this general fitness for the crisis, his career was fertile in enterprise, and deeds of heroism. If, from a want of due precaution, or from an exuberance of courage, misfortune and defeat sometimes assailed him, they neither broke his spirit, nor enfeebled his hopes. Unmoved, as the firmest Roman, in the best times of the commonwealth, he never despaired of the arms of his country. With an inflexible resolution, to witness her triumph, or not to survive her overthrow, he pressed towards his object, with direct aim, and unrelaxing vigour, and would have reduced his district to the condition of a desert, rather than suffer the enemy to be master of it.

In brigadier general Pickens, appeared a third champion of freedom, worthy of the glorious cause he had espoused. Without so much experience in

war, and with a character less strongly marked, than his two cotemporaries, because he was younger, he rendered, notwithstanding, to his suffering fellow citizens, very important services. Gallant, enterprising, and sensible; of a popular deportment, devotedly attached to the independence of his country, and possessing no inconsiderable share of natural eloquence, he drew around him, like Sumpter, from another district of the hilly region, a band of followers, hardy, active, and enamoured of danger.

At the head of these, capable himself of great exertion, and uncommonly patient of privation and toil, he was indefatigable in his movements, traversing an extensive circuit of country, intercepting scouts, striking at foraging parties, and attacking, and sometimes carrying, posts, until he rendered himself exceedingly formidable to his enemies. In the worst of times, he was, at once, a rallying point, and a source of reliance, to the friends of freedom, in a large district; illustrated his career with numerous achievements of usefulness and renown, and proved himself an able partisan officer. But, successful as he was, in many of his enterprises, his most substantial services consisted, not so much in the work of his sword, as in keeping alive a spirit of resistance, and saving the people from despondency and submission. For it is,

in the political, as in the animal body; while a spark of life remains, resuscitation is possible: but, in either, real death is absolute despair.

In another district of country, still further from the seaboard, composed of sections of North and South Carolina, where those two states join, arose a fourth partisan officer, of high character and merit, who, at the gloomiest period of the southern disasters, did much to prevent and punish the atrocities of the royalists, circumscribe the range and influence of British detachments, and sustain the wavering spirits of his friends.

This was colonel Davie, afterwards governor of North Carolina, one of our ambassadors to France, at a very portentous conjuncture, and, now, a private gentleman, reposing in the lap of science, and resident on his estate, in the same tract of country, which he, then, protected.

This distinguished leader, although younger, by several years, possessed talents, of a higher order, and was much more accomplished, in education and manners, than either of his three competitors for fame. For the comeliness of his person, his martial air, his excellence in horsemanship, and his consummate powers, of field eloquence, he had scarcely an equal in the armies of his country. So sonorous and

powerful, was his voice, so distinct his articulation, and so commanding his delivery, that the distance to which he could be heard, was almost incredible.

But his chief excellence, lay in the magnanimity and generosity of his soul, his daring courage, his vigilance and address, and his unrelaxing activity and endurancy of toil. So ardent was his attachment to the cause of freedom, and so disinterested his efforts to promote it, that, in equipping, for the field, his corps of followers, he expended his whole patrimonial estate.

At the head of these, his exertions were unremitting, and his efficiency great. If he was less frequently engaged, in actual combat, than either of his three more southerly compeers, it was not because he was inferior to them, in enterprise, or love of battle. His district being more interior, was, at first, less frequently invaded, by British detachments; and the terror of his arms, either kept the royalists from embodying, or compelled them to scatter, and fly, at his approach.

When, however, lord Cornwallis ultimately advanced into that quarter, his scouts and foraging parties, found in col. Davie, and his brave associates, as formidable an enemy, as they had ever encountered.

At the two gloomiest epochs of the southern war, soon after the fall of Charleston, and the overthrow



of Gates, it was the good fortune of that officer to be the first to shed a gleam, through the surrounding darkness, and give hope to the country, by the brilliancy of his exploits.

In one instance, without loss or injury, on his part, he entirely destroyed an escort of provisions, taking forty prisoners, with their horses and arms.

In the other, under the immediate eye of a large British force, which was actually beating to arms, to attack him, he routed a party, stronger than his own, killing and wounding sixty of the enemy, and carrying off with him, ninety-six horses, and one hundred and twenty stand of arms. The only injury which he himself sustained, in his command, was one man wounded. This affair occurred at Wahab's farm, in the Waxhaw settlement.

When lord Cornwallis entered Charlotte, a small village in North Carolina, colonel Davie, at the head of his detachment, threw himself in his front, determined to give him a specimen of the firmness and gallantry, with which the inhabitants of the place, were prepared to dispute with his lordship, their native soil.

Colonel Tarleton's legion formed the British van, led by major Hanger, the commander, himself, being confined by sickness.

When that celebrated corps had advanced near to the centre of the village, where the Americans were posted, Davie poured into it, so destructive a fire, that it immediately wheeled, and retreated, in disorder. Being rallied, on the commons, and again led on to the charge, it received, on the same spot, another fire, with a similar effect.

Lord Cornwallis, witnessing the confusion, thus produced among his choicest troops, rode up, in person, and, in a tone of dissatisfaction, upbraided the legion with unsoldierly conduct, reminding it, of its former exploits and reputation.

Pressed, on his flanks, by the British infantry, colonel Davie had now fallen back, to a new and well selected position.

To dislodge him from this, the legion cavalry, advanced on him, a third time, in rapid charge; in full view of their commander in chief, and still smarting from his pungent censure: but in vain. Another fire, from the American marksmen, killed several of their officers, wounded major Hanger, and repulsed them, again, with increased confusion.

The main body of the British being now within musket-shot, the American leader abandoned the contest.

That they might, if possible, recover some portion of the laurels, of which they had, this day, been shorn, colonel Tarleton's dragoons, attempted to disturb colonel Davie, in his retreat. But the latter, choosing his ground, wheeled on them with so fierce and galling a fire, that they again fell back, and troubled him no further.

It was by strokes, like these, that he seriously crippled and intimidated his enemy, acquired an elevated standing, in the estimation of his friends, and served, very essentially, the interests of freedom. With the resolution of Sumpter, and the coolness and military policy of Marion, he exhibited, in his character, a happy union of the high qualities of those two officers.

Thus, did these four great partisan leaders, created, by the exigency of the times, and springing, each out of the nature of his own district, tend, by their vigilance, and unremitting action, to limit, not a little, the ravages of the enemy, and to preserve, from extinction, the embers of resistance.

But, although the most regular labourers, in the sacred cause, in which they co-operated, they and their immediate followers, did not work alone. By the occasional association and exertion of other partisan warriors, in different places, sundry enterpri-

ses, of rare and distinguished lustre, were successfully achieved.

Every reader of history, must be familiar with the celebrated and romantic feat of arms, achieved on King's mountain; where the British bayonet, under colonel Ferguson, yielded to the American rifle, pointed by Cleveland, Shelby and Campbell.

In number, the troops, on either side, were nearly equal. The British detachment was in high discipline, selected for a particular service, and encamped in a position, chosen on account of its security and strength.

The Americans were fresh from their homes, had no pretension to discipline, and most of them now, for the first time, faced an enemy in the field. Notwithstanding this, they advanced to the attack, with the steadiness, and cool determination, of veterans. The resistance they encountered was firm and terrible; yet fifty minutes conducted them to triumph.

The following brief, but picturesque account of this battle, is given by general Lee.

“Our brave countrymen were formed into three divisions, under their respective leaders, and coolly ascended the mountain in different directions. Colonel Cleveland first reached the enemy, and opened a destructive fire from behind the trees. Ferguson

resorted to the bayonet: Cleveland necessarily gave way. At that instant, from another quarter, colonel Shelby poured in his fire; alike sheltered and alike effectual. Upon him Ferguson furiously turned, and advanced with the bayonet; gaining the only, though immaterial, advantage in his power, of forcing Shelby to recede. This was scarcely effected, before colonel Campbell had gained the summit of the mountain; when he too commenced a deadly fire. The British bayonet was again applied; and produced its former effect. All the divisions now returned in co-operation, and resistance became temerity."

The trophies of the day were dazzling and glorious. The British party was annihilated. Colonel Ferguson, himself, was among the slain; three hundred of his troops were killed and wounded; and upwards of eight hundred surrendered, at discretion. Fifteen hundred stand of arms passed, also, into the possession of the conquerors.

Never was victory more opportune; nor, for the number of combatants, engaged in the conflict, more important, in its immediate consequences. It broke the plan of the British campaign, rescued North Carolina, from an invasion, which would have devastated, and held in check, its strongest and best disposed district, disappointed the expectations of the roy-

alists in various parts of it, preventing their intended co-operation with the invaders, and revived the sinking hopes, and invigorated the exertions, of the friends of freedom.

Further to the South, occurred another affair of partisan gallantry, which, although not very momentous, in its consequences, was, notwithstanding, so extraordinary, in its nature, conducted with so much address, marked with such a chivalrous spirit of enterprise, and so honourable to the officer who conceived and executed it, that it deserves to be much more generally known, than it has heretofore been.

On the river Ogechee, in the state of Georgia, was stationed captain French, with a detachment of about forty British regulars. At the same place lay five British vessels. Of these, four were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns.

Colonel John White, of the Georgia line, meditating the capture of this station, was able to call to his assistance, but four individuals, captain Etholen, and three privates.

Resolute in their purpose, notwithstanding the disparity of force they would be obliged to encounter, these five soldiers of fortune, boldly advanced on the enemy's post.

Having arrived in the neighbourhood of it at night, they kindled numerous fires, the light of which reached their adversaries, so arranging them, as to represent, by them, the lines of a considerable camp. To render their stratagem the more imposing, they then rode hastily about, in various directions, in imitation of the staff of an army, disposing their sentinels, and issuing their orders in a loud voice.

The artifice succeeded, and convinced captain French, that he was menaced by a large body of Americans. Accordingly, on being summoned, by colonel White, he surrendered his detachment, the crews of the five vessels, amounting to near fifty in number, with the vessels themselves, and one hundred and fifty stand of arms.

But the difficulty of the enterprising captors, was not yet terminated. The British soldiers and sailors, might discover the imposition that had been practised on them, and attempt a rescue; and five armed men, were not sufficient to restrain, by force, near a hundred without arms.

The same genius, however, that had planned the first part of the adventure, was competent to the completion of it.

With great seriousness, and some emotion, in his manner, colonel White told captain French, that, in

consequence of certain recent enormities, perpetrated by a detachment of British and royalists, his troops were so deeply exasperated, that he was afraid they would advance on the captured party, and, in violation of his commands, put them all to the sword: that he had, already, experienced great difficulty, in restraining them; and, should they be placed as a guard over the prisoners, he was convinced their rage would become ungovernable. He, therefore, directed the British captain, to follow, with his whole party, captain Etholen, and two of the soldiers, as guides, who would conduct them, without delay, to a place of safety, and good quarters.

For his kindness and humanity, colonel White received the thanks of his prisoners, who immediately marched off, in a body, with their small escort, anxious to hasten their pace, lest the enraged Americans should advance on them, and cut them to pieces.

The colonel and one soldier remained behind, with a view, as he informed captain French, to restrain, by his presence, any improper violence, his troops might be inclined to offer; and to conduct their march at some distance in the rear.

In the mean time, with the aid of the soldier retained, he took active measures, to collect, as expeditiously as possible, a body of militia. from the neigh-



bouring district. Placing himself at the head of these, who were mostly mounted on good horses, he soon overtook his prisoners, whom he found safe, under their guides, and rejoicing in the generous treatment they had experienced.

Equally, perhaps, unknown, to most of the inhabitants, and singularly neglected, in the history of our country, is another very gallant partisan adventure, achieved on the 22d of June 1780. Neither American regulars, nor British soldiers having any concern in this spirited affair; it was fought entirely by raw militia-men, of the whig and tory parties.

About twelve hundred of the latter, having assembled, under the command of colonel Moore, encamped, in a strong position, at Ramsaour's mill, a few miles westward, from the Catawba river, and in the vicinity of the line, which separates North from South Carolina. In which of the two states the encampment was situated, is not, at present, distinctly recollected, although the writer of this narrative, has been frequently on the spot.

In addition to rapine, and the production of general distress, a favourite object of this party was, to overawe and weaken the adjacent country, by capturing, and carrying within the British lines, a number of its most influential inhabitants. Besides being

thus prevented from taking a lead, in active measures of resistance, these were to be held as hostages, for the good conduct and neutrality of their friends.

To defeat the mischievous purposes of this party, and to dislodge them from their strong hold, the most spirited of the whigs, from Iredell, a neighbouring county, assembled, to the amount of three hundred men, under the command of colonel Locke. These consisted, principally, of foot; but, in part, of a small corps of mounted infantry, armed with rifles, pistols and sabres, led by captain Falls, an officer of peculiar gallantry and worth.

This hasty levy of soldiers, presented a spectacle eminently interesting. They were fresh from their homes, their private habits unbroken, no discipline or concert of action established among them, and all their domestic feelings, clinging around their hearts.

They were, in the true sense of the expression, a band of friends and neighbours, being all from the same settlement, and perfectly known to each other, in private life. In the whole party, there was not an individual, who had not repeatedly united with the others, in rural sport, and social enjoyment. As citizens, they were all of the same rank, and all respectable. They were masters of the soil, they had assembled to defend.

Of this corps of patriots, the military prowess was entirely untried; not one of them, with the exception of captain Falls, having ever confronted an enemy, in the field. Their only warlike acquirement, was great expertness and skill, in the use of the rifle. In that qualification, they had few superiors.

Being all dressed in their common apparel, they exhibited no uniformity of appearance. To remedy this, and to distinguish them from the tories, who were known to be dressed in the same way, they fastened over the crowns of their hats, from back to front, descending to the rims, on each side, strips of white paper, about two inches broad. Each one brought to the place of rendezvous, his own rifle, fifty rounds of powder and ball, a week's provision, and a light blanket. That they might be perfectly unencumbered, neither baggage-wagon, nor pack-horse was attached to the party.

Thus accoutred, eager for battle, and panting for glory, without waiting for a considerable force, that was assembling in Rowan, a neighbouring county, under general Rutherford, to join them, they moved, in haste and silence, towards the scene of action.

The second day's march brought them into the immediate vicinity of their object. They encamped, for the night, determined to strike, and hoping to sur-

prise, the enemy, in the morning. But, in this, they were disappointed.

On advancing to the attack, about break of day, they found the foe on the alert, and ready to receive them. They, therefore, resolved to wait, until it should be completely light, that the aim of their rifles might be the more deadly.

The morning opening, disclosed to them a preparation for defence and resistance, much more formidable, than they had expected to find. The enemy were posted on top of a hill, covered with timber, which afforded them a shelter. Their flanks were protected, on one side, by a mill-dam, and, on the other, by a swamp, a small stream of water flowing in the rear. In front of their encampment, was erected, of stakes and brush-wood, a breastwork, so compact, as to be proof against small arms, and to impede, in a great measure, the operation of cavalry. A strong detachment of the foe was stationed in advance of the breastwork, armed with rifles, and concealed behind trees.

At first sight, this array of men and means, was somewhat appalling. But, the Rubicon was passed. Retreat would be ruin, accompanied with disgrace. Battle might also be ruinous, but could not be dis-

honourable. Without hesitation, therefore, the latter was resolved on.

At his own request, captain Falls, with his mounted infantry, led the attack. When at the distance of about eighty paces, he received the fire of the enemy's advance. Returning this, with considerable effect, he rushed, sword in hand, into the midst of them, threw them into confusion, and forced them to fall back. Pressing his fortune, with too much ardour, he received a ball, through his breast, and fell dead from his horse.

His party, however, undismayed, by the loss of their leader, continued the action, with great gallantry, until the foot advanced to their support, when the enemy was driven behind his breastwork.

Here ensued, a most murderous conflict. The whigs, having so far levelled the obstruction, as to render it passable, rushed over it, mingled with the enemy, and, in many instances, grappled with them, man to man. Every instrument and mean of death, was now resorted to. The bullet, the sword, the rifle-but, and even the hatchet, with which some were provided, were abundantly employed. Rarely, in any case, has blood been more inexorably, or, by the same number of combatants, more prodigally, shed.

For a time, the issue was doubtful. Pressed, by superior numbers, the whigs were, once, compelled to give ground, some of them retreating across the breastwork. But, resolutely bent on victory or death, they returned to the charge, with such fierce impetuosity, and decisive effect, as bore down all resistance.

The tories broke, and fled, in confusion, the whigs, for some distance, hanging on their rear, with terrible slaughter.

Thus terminated an affair, in which so many gallant spirits made their first, and, too many of them, alas! their last, essay in arms. In the course of it, the whigs performed prodigies; and the royalists manifested a degree of resolution and valour, worthy of a better cause.

The latter lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of six hundred men. The prisoners and wounded, were paroled, and liberated, on the field of battle.

The *numerical* loss of the former was exceedingly heavy, nearly half of them being killed or wounded. But the *actual* loss, which consisted, in the character, rather than the number, of those that fell, was incalculable. On that fatal day, some of the choicest blood of the south, was heroically offered, on the altar of freedom.

The death of captain Falls, in particular, was deeply lamented. In the ranks of his country, he did not leave behind him a purer patriot, or a more gallant soldier.

His son, a youth of fourteen, had accompanied him to battle. When the captain fell, this high minded stripling, moved by an instinctive impulse of affection, sprang from his horse, to embrace the body, and protect it from insult. One of the enemy, believed to be the same, that had shot captain Falls, advancing, with a view to plunder the corpse, the son, suddenly snatching the sword of the deceased, plunged it into the bosom of the marauder, and thus, at once, punished audacity, and nobly revenged his father's death.

So deadly was the aim of the tory riflemen, at the commencement of the action, before the smoke of their own fire had obstructed their view, that, many of them placed their balls, in the lower end of the strips of paper, which the whigs wore over the crowns of their hats. Every shot of this description, passing through the brain, was instantly fatal.

As yet, the southern states, had witnessed, on the part of the friends of freedom, but little of regular military operations. The war had been of a partisan, predatory, and murderous character, calculated to exhaust the country, and madden the passions, but

to produce no decisive effect, in the procurement of peace.

If any exceptions to this existed, they were to be found, in the defence of Charleston, the battle of Stono, the attack on the British lines, at Savannah, and the defeat of general Gates, near the village of Camden. It cannot be denied, that these actions, notwithstanding the abortive and ruinous issue of them, were conducted on the principles of the art of war. For reasons that will be sufficiently obvious hereafter, the last of them calls for further notice.



## CHAPTER V.

General Gates appointed to the command of the army of the south—his high reputation, with the confidence and expectancy, it excited—his imprudence and precipitancy—his defeat, before Camden—fall of the baron de Kalb—last moments of that officer—noble conduct of his aid, colonel du Buysson—the baron's character—flight of Gates, not consistent with his former reputation—consternation of the country—taught by misfortune, Gates becomes more prudent, and circumspect—a court of inquiry into his conduct, ordered—Greene appointed to succeed him—his conduct and sentiments, on the occasion—sets out for the south—visits, on his route, the governors of the states, constituting the southern department, which is, now, enlarged, so as to embrace all the territory, south of Pennsylvania—is in danger of falling into the hands of the tories—arrives in Charlotte, the head-quarters of general Gates—the mutual delicacy, and magnanimity, of the two commanders—Gates, in a very complimentary style, surrenders the command of the army to Greene—the dignified and courteous reply, of the latter—Greene is the advocate of the reputation of Gates, and so continues—the latter takes leave of his successor, and of military life—his dreary and disconsolate journey to the north—reflections on his fall from favour, and public confidence.

To check the progress of the enemy, in the south, and wrest from him the two states, he had already overrun, a powerful expedition was projected in the North. The command of this, which had been planned by the united wisdom of the nation, and from which so much was expected, of present relief, and future benefit, was unanimously offered to general Gates.

Rich in fame, from the fields of Saratoga, that officer accepted the high and important trust, under many advantages.

Regularly bred to arms, in the British school, and extensively versed in past services, he had acquired no inconsiderable share of military science and experience; transferred, by congress, to his present command, he possessed the entire confidence of that body; and his recent successes, in the capture of Burgoyne, had rendered him preeminent, in popularity, with the army and the nation. Next to the commander in chief, his fortune had made him, at this conjuncture, the most prominent and influential officer in the country.

Encircled, thus, abundantly, by laurels, the merited reward of antecedent victory, and with a most extensive field, before him, rich in others, which he was invited to gather, general Gates eagerly directed his march to the south.

Having been previously despatched, to the same quarter, at the head of fifteen hundred troops, major general, the baron de Kalb, had already advanced to about the centre of North Carolina. He was here overtaken, by the hero of Saratoga, who was hailed with acclamations, to the command of the army.

General Gates was, soon afterwards, strengthened by a party of regulars, under colonel Porterfield, the militia of Virginia, under general Stevens, and those of North Carolina, under general Caswell; the two latter bodies, being perfectly crude, and without discipline. With this force, unassimilated, as it was, and wholly disqualified, to act in concert, he determined to advance, without delay, and meet the enemy. The necessity of training, to the use of arms, and practising, in field evolutions, troops that were to encounter a veteran foe, appeared to be forgotten by him.

The arrival of an officer, so exalted in reputation, had an immediate and very happy effect, on the spirits of the soldiery, and the hopes of the people. The anticipation became no less general, than it was pleasing, that he, who had humbled Great Britain, on the heights of the Hudson, and liberated New York from a formidable invasion, would prove no less successful in the south, and become the deliverer of Carolina and Georgia, from lawless rapine, and military rule.

In this confidence, joy overspread the face of the country, and the friends of freedom, hurried to his banner. But the issue soon demonstrated the fallacy of hope, even when it appears to be steadfastly founded in reason. For it cannot be denied, that

general Gates had before him, at this moment, a most promising prospect, of successful operations, and a glorious campaign.

But, from the moment he assumed the command in the south, his former judgment and fortune, appeared to forsake him. He commenced his measures, in a want of foresight, and proceeded through a series of palpable errors, and acts of indiscretion, which led, in a short time, to the destruction of his army.

The country, which was to constitute his theatre of action, was open, level, thinly inhabited, and marked, in many places, with extensive plains.

Here, cavalry became an essential part of his force, as well with a view to the efficiency of scouting parties, and the procurement of intelligence and provisions, as for operating against the enemy, in all such ways, as exigencies might demand, in time of battle. Yet, by an act of inattention, or a misconception of means, not to be accounted for, and scarcely to be pardoned, general Gates refused to avail himself of the services, of a most active and formidable corps of horse, under the command of the colonels, White and Washington.

The baron de Kalb had resolved to penetrate into South Carolina, by a route, in which provisions were

plenty, and could be easily procured. But, on taking command of the army, general Gates, for reasons, which did not appear valid, directed his march by a different route, through an unproductive country, where supplies of wholesome provisions were wanting. The result was, that his troops became sickly and debilitated, in consequence of being obliged to subsist, for some time, on green corn, and unripe fruits. This was their condition, in a degree that was alarming, when, of his own accord, he gave battle to the enemy.

The active spirits of the place, being roused and encouraged, by the presence of a considerable army, and daily flocking to the standard of their country, general Gates, by a delay of action, had much to gain, in point of numbers. Nor would he have profited less, by the improved discipline and health of his troops.

To the prospects of the enemy, on the contrary, delay would have been ruinous. To them, there was no alternative, but immediate battle and victory, or immediate retreat. Such, however, was the nature of the country and the distance and relative position of the two armies, that to *compel* the Americans to action, was impossible. Yet, in the midst of all these considerations, dissuading him from it, and, in con-

tempt of advantages enabling him to avoid it, general Gates sought battle, and found ruin.

The extreme imprudence of the American general, in hazarding an engagement, at this time, is further manifested, by the fact, that, in troops, on whose firmness, in action, he could safely rely, he was greatly inferior to the foe; they amounting to sixteen hundred regulars; and he having less than a thousand continentals. On his sickly, undisciplined militia, it was madness to depend.

The two armies met within a few miles of Camden, the enemy led by lord Cornwallis, the most able and skilful of the British chiefs.

On the first shock of arms, all the militia, except a regiment of North Carolinians, commanded by colonel Dixon, which fought with great gallantry and effect, deserted their standards, and fled in dismay. In vain did Stephens, Caswell, and Gates himself, attempt to rally them. That their speed might be the greater, they threw away their arms and accoutrements, and dashed into the woods, and swamps, for safety. A rout more perfectly wild, and disorderly, or marked with greater consternation and dismay, was never witnessed. Honour, manhood, country, home—every recollection sacred to the feelings of the soldier, and the soul of the brave, was merged in

an ignominious love of life. From the swords of Tarleton's dragoons, who pursued and overtook them, in their dastardly flight, great numbers of them met their fate.

The continentals, and Dixon's brave militia regiment, amounting, in the aggregate, to less than twelve hundred, were now left, to contend alone, with the foe, surpassing them in numbers, and already flushed, with a certainty of triumph.

This heroic remnant of the army, under the immediate command of De Kalb, Gist, Smallwood, Williams, Howard, and Dixon, fought with intrepidity, and desperate resolution. In several points, the enemy were beaten, and compelled to give way. But, backed and supported, by additional forces, they returned to the charge, and were ultimately victorious.

The loss of the American regulars was heavy; and, in the number of the slain, were many officers, of great worth.

Colonel Porterfield, distinguished for his steadiness, heroism, and skill, fell, early in the action, universally lamented.

The fate of the gallant De Kalb, was melancholy and affecting.

Dissatisfied with some of the arrangements for battle, he had been heard to declare, that defeat

would ensue, and that he would not survive the disgrace of the day.

Having long sustained, and encouraged, by his example and exhortations, the bravery of the troops, he resolved on a final appeal to the bayonet.

The charge, was worthy of Americans, commanded by a veteran, proud of his sword, who had signalized himself, often and honourably, on the fields of Germany. While leading it, in person, the baron received eleven wounds, in different parts of his body, and immediately fell.

The injury was mortal; but the noble foreigner was not yet dead. By the British soldiery, smarting, from their own wounds, or enraged, by the slaughter, produced among their comrades, numerous bayonets were pointed at his breast, as he lay on the ground.

Colonel Du Buysson, one of his aids, determined to preserve, from immediate extinction, the baron's yet lingering but fast declining life, or sacrifice his own, in the generous attempt fearlessly interposed his person, and received, himself, the bayonets aimed, at the body of his friend.

The manifestation of an attachment so powerful, united to a devotedness, so magnanimous and disinterested, had its full effect. It softened even the exasperated soldiers, stayed the point of the advancing



bayonet, and, instead of being destroyed, these two heroes and friends became prisoners.

The wounds of colonel Du Buysson, did not prove fatal. The baron, although treated by the enemy, with the utmost tenderness, and soothing attention, survived but a few days. Before his death, he dictated to general Smallwood, who succeeded him, in command, a letter, filled with expressions of sincere affection, for the officers of his division; and bestowed, in his last moments, the highest encomiums, on the bravery of the troops. "Tell my brave companions in arms, said he, that, even now, when the coldness of death is spreading over me, my heart is warm with love for them."

Besides being an officer, of high qualities, and extensive experience, De Kalb as a man, was remarkable for his refined and exalted virtue. Ardent and steady in his affections, and sincere in his professions, his friendships, although not numerous, were strong and lasting.

His loss was felt, and much lamented, by the American army; and, during his short intercourse with the British officers, though wounded, and a prisoner, he made a very favourable and deep impression on them, by the amiability of his character, his patience and magnanimity, in suffering, and the

excellence of his heart. He was buried, by them, with the military honours, due to his rank.

Congress, in recognition of his services, erected to his memory, in the town of Annapolis, a handsome monument, with a complimentary inscription.

That general Gates was a brave soldier, no one ever pretended to deny. Yet, to reconcile with that view of his character, the whole of his conduct, in the battle of Camden, might seem to be a matter of some difficulty.

In his attempt to rally the routed militia, at the commencement of the action, he fell back, with that retreating body, and appeared no more, on the field of battle. Neglectful of the continentals, who continued the conflict, and without the slightest intelligence of their fate, he pursued his retreat, with uncommon rapidity, until he entered Charlotte, a village of North Carolina, eighty miles from the scene of action.

The reason assigned for this conduct was, a wish to reach that point, before the arrival of his retreating troops; and, by erecting his standard, to collect them, there, for future action.

But the motive alleged, was unsatisfactory; and was regarded, both by the military and the nation, more in the light of an excuse, than a reason.

When general Gates found it impossible, to check the flight of the shattered militia, it would have redounded much more to his honour as a soldier, and, certainly, not less to his sense of character, as an officer, to have returned to the regulars, the main hope, at the time, of the southern states, and brought them from the field, or, like the gallant De Kalb, fallen at their head, in a last effort, on the British ranks. Had he done either, he would have lightened, not a little, the stain on his escutcheon.

The passions and emotions of man, are prone to great and sudden extremes. Like a well disposed pendulum, they are apt, when influenced, by opposite causes, to vibrate, to equal distances, on each side of the line of sober and correct judgment. It is only in minds of the clearest views, and the firmest texture, that they are exempt from these conflicting alternations.

Never, perhaps, did there occur, on any occasion, a more forcible illustration of this truth, than on that of the advance and defeat of general Gates.

When, as already stated, that officer first assumed the command of the army of the south, the exultation excited, was universal and wild. Joy seemed to revel in every breast, hope beamed from every

countenance, and the expectation of an immediate and triumphant issue, was universal and extravagant.

But now, a fatal reverse was experienced. At a single blow, the army was annihilated; and the country, once more open and defenceless, exposed to the incursions of a rapacious foe.

With this ensued, a corresponding change, in public feeling. Hope and expectation, until this reverse inordinately high, were succeeded by a deep and general despondency. In the apprehensions of the people, freedom was lost. The writer of this narrative, was situated within the route, by which the army of general Gates retreated. Although a child, when the catastrophe occurred, he was far from being indifferent to the appearance of the shattered troops, and the terrified inhabitants. Indeed the impressions he received, were too deep and permanent, for time to efface.

The dismal fears and forebodings of the country, he distinctly remembers: and, now, at the distance of nearly forty years, the consternation and dismay pictured in every countenance he beheld, present to his view a high-drawn image of terror and distraction.

Nor can he ever forget the deadly effect, produced by the cry of "Gates is defeated," which, uttered by the hundred tongues of Rumour, and carried, by dispatch messengers, from dwelling to dwelling, was

regarded, by every one, as the knell of liberty. Even the bravest and most sanguine, had scarcely a hope or a prospect left, but that, of once more facing the conqueror, and, in a last and desperate effort, escaping his chains, by an honourable death. Of all the stages of the war, in the south, this was the period, which most emphatically “tried men’s souls.”

That, under the pressure of such a disheartening conjuncture, he had the firmness not to despair of his country, redounds, somewhat to the honour of general Gates.

Having retreated to Salisbury, and thence to Hillsborough, he, there, succeeded, in collecting around him, the fragments of his army. Being, soon afterwards, reinforced, by several small bodies of regulars and militia, he again advanced towards the south, and took post in Charlotte.

During this movement, the circumspection, and military skill, he exhibited, were not a little superior, to those which had marked his former conduct. Severely exercised in the school of misfortune, he appeared to have profited, considerably, by the discipline. But, whatever might be the apparent amendment of his policy, having forfeited and lost, the confidence of the country, it was impossible for him, to turn the current of adversity. Nothing, indeed, could

effect that, but the presence of an officer, fertile in resources, of a commanding genius, and a spotless reputation.

Convinced of this important truth, and dissatisfied with the loss of the southern army, congress resolved, that the conduct of general Gates be submitted to the examination of a court of inquiry, and the commander in chief, directed, to appoint an officer to succeed him.

In complying with that portion of the resolution, which related to a commander of the southern army, general Washington, without hesitation, offered the appointment to general Greene. In a letter to congress, recommending the general to the support of that body, he made the most honourable mention of him, as "an officer, in whose abilities, fortitude, and integrity, from a long and intimate experience of them, he had the most entire confidence."

In this appointment, Washington had the good fortune to meet, not only his own views, and gratify his own wishes, but those, also, of the South Carolina delegation in Congress. Writing to Mr. Matthews, a member from Charleston, he says, "You have your wish, in the officer appointed, to the southern command. I think, I am giving you a general; but, what can a general do, without men, without

arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions."

The delicacy of general Greene, on this occasion, was highly honourable to him. It showed him to be a man of correct feelings, an amiable temper, and a magnanimous disposition. Far from exulting in his appointment, or manifesting any offensive superiority over the officer, he was destined to supersede, he remonstrated against the recal of general Gates, pronouncing him an able commander, notwithstanding his misfortunes, and declaring himself willing to repair to the southern army, and "serve under him."

Equally delicate, and gentlemanly, in their deportment, towards each other, were those two officers, when they met in Charlotte, North Carolina, where the command of the army devolved on Greene.

The conduct and feelings of general Gates, in resigning the command, are manifested, much to his credit, in the following order.

"Head-quarters, Charlotte, 3d December, 1780.  
Parole, Springfield—countersign, Greene.

The honourable major general Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon, in Charlotte, being appointed, by his excellency general Washington, with the approbation of the honourable congress, to the com-

mand of the southern army, all orders will, for the future, issue from him, and all reports, are to be made to him.

“General Gates, returns his sincere and grateful thanks, to the southern army, for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance, of all the hardships and sufferings, they have undergone, while under his command. He anxiously hopes, their misfortunes will cease therewith; and that victory, and the glorious advantages attending it, may be the future portion of the southern army.”

On the next day, his successor introduced into his general orders, the following very handsome and dignified reply.

“General Greene returns his thanks, to the honourable major general Gates, for the polite manner, in which he has introduced him to his command, in his orders, of yesterday, and for his good wishes, for the success of the southern army.”

In addition to this, general Greene had already been, and continued to be, the firm advocate of the reputation of general Gates, particularly if he heard it assailed with asperity. It was believed, however, that his magnanimity, and extreme tenderness for the feelings of an officer, fallen from his former fame, and his determination to frown on unmanly censure,



induced him to carry his defence of general Gates, as far, at least, as his judgment warranted. It is scarcely possible, that, with his luminous views, and great military mind, he could do other, than secretly condemn, some part of the conduct, of his unfortunate predecessor. That, in reality, he did condemn it, is manifest from the fact, that, under circumstances, not dissimilar, he governed his own conduct, by different principles. But, led by the amiability of his temper, to be silent, where many considerations forbade him to commend, unavailing censure was never heard to issue from his lips.

That portion of territory, technically denominated, the southern department of the Union, extended, originally, no further north, than to the south bank of the Potowmac. It included, therefore, only Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. But, to this department were added, soon after the defeat of general Gates, for the purpose of strengthening it, Maryland and Delaware.

When proceeding on his route, to the army of the south, general Greene visited the governors of the several states, composing his department, to advise and concert with them, the best plan of furnishing provisions, and their quotas of troops; and to ascertain,

generally, what effective force he might reasonably calculate on bringing into the field.

Having completed, as far as possible, these preliminary arrangements, he hastened, with his suite, to his place of destination.

The character of parts of the country, through which he had to pass, were, by no means, favourable to his interest, or flattering to his views of future success. The inhabitants were deeply disaffected to the cause of freedom; and such was their audacity, springing out of the late triumph, of the royal arms, that, few as his attendants were, his personal safety was, several times, considered in danger. His prudence and firmness, however, affording him protection, he arrived, on the second of December 1780, without insult, or molestation, at the headquarters of general Gates.

That officer having, as already stated, surrendered to him his command, in complimentary terms, remained with him a few days, frankly communicating all the useful information he possessed, touching the condition of the army, the country, and the enemy; and then, taking an affectionate leave of him, set out for the north, never again to appear in the field.

His long and dreary journey, was a true picture of lost favour, and fallen greatness. Although digni-

fied in his deportment, and condescending in his manners, no eye beamed on him, with a cordial welcome, no tongue saluted him, in accents of kindness. He was every where met, with frowns or indifference, neglectful silence, or murmured censure. All recollected, in him, the fugitive from Camden, no one recognized, the victor of Saratoga.

Hapless veteran! once deservedly a favourite of his country, and, from past services, worthy, still, of a better fate! Although judgment disapproved, and prudence justly censured, parts of his conduct; virtue admired his late magnanimity, and humanity wept over his faded laurels.

## CHAPTER VI.

The difficulties Greene had to encounter, in first entering on the command of the southern army—weak state of the army—provisions and military stores wanting—the system pursued, by him, the only one calculated to save from ruin—The plans of military operation, in America, more extensive, than in Europe, and, therefore, require more genius for execution—reasons for this opinion—campaigns of Greene, compared with those of Napoleon and Wellington—America not degraded by works of inferiority—the reverse, nearer the truth—instances in proof of this—Frederick and Napoleon, perhaps, excepted, Greene, an abler commander, than any Europe has produced for centuries—Greene, by his wisdom and industry, greatly meliorates the condition of his army—the composition of his army—sketches of the characters of his principal officers—of general Morgan—of colonel Washington—of colonel Howard—of colonel Williams—of colonel Lee.

IN entering on the duties of his command, general Greene found himself in a situation, that was fearfully embarrassing.

Although by deep reflection, on the enterprise before him, he had informed himself sufficiently of its magnitude and importance, the real difficulties of its achievement, had been hitherto concealed from him, because, he was now, for the first time, apprized of the total incompetency of his means.

His army, consisting mostly of militia, amounted to less than two thousand men. Notwithstanding the exertions of his predecessor, to establish magazines

and military stores, he found, on hand, but three days' provision, and a very defective supply of ammunition.

In front, was an enemy, proud in victory, and too strong to be encountered; around, and in his rear, was a country exhausted, dispirited, and, in many parts, disaffected; and Virginia, at the distance of two hundred miles, and struggling, herself, against a formidable invasion, was the only source, to which he could reasonably look for succour.

With such means, and under such circumstances, to recover two states, already conquered, and protect a third, very seriously menaced, constituted a task that was almost hopeless.

The kind of warfare, that alone was suited to these purposes, was of the most perplexing and arduous character; and, to conduct it, successfully, called for consummate, and diversified abilities.

It was not, merely, to meet an enemy in the field, to command skilfully, and fight bravely, either in proffered, or accepted battle. These operations, are among the simplest that present themselves to the leader of an army. They depend on mere professional qualifications, that can be readily acquired, by moderate capacities.

But, to raise, and provide for, an army, in a dispirited and devastated country, creating resources where they do not exist, to operate, with an incompetent force, on an extended and broken line of frontier, to hold in check, in many points, and avoid coming into contact with him, in any, an enemy superior in numbers and discipline, to institute a vast system of military policy, so comprehensive, provident, and efficient, as to protect and encourage the friendly, overawe the disaffected, and confirm the wavering, when these different descriptions of characters, reside in settlements and districts, remote from each other—To conduct a scheme of warfare like this—and such, precisely, was that which tested the abilities of general Greene—requires a genius of the highest order, combined with indefatigable industry, and skill.

With foreigners, the belief is, perhaps, universal, that the operations of our revolutionary war, compared to the military operations of Europe, were on a diminutive scale; and, that the conducting of them, therefore, was no evidence of superior intellect, or masterly talent.

An opinion more palpably erroneous, than this, can scarcely be imagined. Reverse it, and you approach much nearer to the truth.

As a general rule, the commanders of Europe, operate on a limited theatre, with a large force. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely possible, that any great extent of military policy can be displayed. The armies must either remain in their positions, or meet and fight. They have too little room for manœuvre or stratagem. To march and countermarch, advance, retreat, waste time, detach parties to attract and distract attention, effect diversions, and pursue every varying measure to overreach and gain advantage, is, *there*, a practice comparatively rare. But, with general Greene, it was, for a time, the common and necessary employment of his life. Such was the condition of his army, that to risk battle, was to court ruin. To attain the great object, in view, therefore, with the very limited means, which were placed at his disposal, required that his mind should be constantly, and vigorously on the alert, and that he should avail himself, through the medium of stratagem and policy, of every advantage, that genius could suggest.

Necessity compelled him to cover a large country, with a small force; which required a great military plan. This was, in fact, to operate on an extensive scale, and called, of course, for extensive talents. But, to cover a small country, with a large force, requires but little of either policy or plan. Directed with com-

mon circumspection, the means are, of themselves, perfectly adequate to the contemplated end. In a comparative point of view, then, the scale of operation is small; and needs, for its superintendence, but moderate abilities.

The writer of these Memoirs, pretends to no military experience, nor has he any attainments in the science of war. The positions he has, here, ventured to advance, he regards as the result of common sense; and, without any serious apprehension of being found in the wrong, appeals, for their correctness, to the judgment of those, who are bred to arms, and versed in the practical operations of the field. Strange, and extravagant, as, to most readers, perhaps, the opinion may appear, he has no hesitation in believing, that general Greene's campaigns, in the southern department, required more of military talent to conduct them, than did those of the emperor Napoleon, in which he humbled Italy, Prussia, and Austria. The latter, whose means were in his sword, overwhelmed, by the direct operation of superior force; but the former, destitute of force, employed, chiefly, the weapon of policy, dextrously wielded by the hand of Genius. The conquests of the one, were more the result of physical power, heightened and emboldened, by a confidence of victory; while the success of



the other, arose from the unbounded resources of his intellect.

We would not be understood, as meaning to run a parallel between general Greene and the emperor Napoleon; much less, to disparage the talents of the latter, whom we consider, in the main, as the most distinguished captain of the present age—perhaps, of any age. But, many military characters, of sound judgment, and no inconsiderable experience, in war, who have studied both, with deliberate attention, concur in giving a preference, on the score of policy, to the campaigns of general Greene, over those of the leader, who, in the battle of Waterloo, had the good fortune, to conquer Napoleon. This decision we believe to be correct. Greene, as will presently appear, vanquished lord Cornwallis, who, in his genius for war, was superior to lord Wellington.

It may be laid down, then, we think, as a settled axiom, that, as far as policy, and the degree of intellect their achievement requires, are concerned, the real magnitude of military operations, is to be determined, much more, by the extent of the theatre acted on, than by the number of troops, engaged in action. And, further, that the commander, who, in America, has rendered himself illustrious, by covering and protecting a large country, with a small force,

could, in Europe, with much more facility, have acquired renown, by operating, in a small country, with a large force.

We do hope and believe, that the time is near at hand, when all that is American, whether it relate to peace or war, will cease to be underrated, in the countries of Europe. Nothing but ignorance, vulgar prejudice, or contemptible knavery, can be guilty of such injustice. Nature has not marked the Americans with an inferiority of mind. That the reverse is true, abundant evidence might be easily adduced. Every person, of observation, well knows, that, in a vast majority of cases, the sons of Europeans, emigrating to this country, surpass their fathers, in the better qualities of man, both corporeal and mental. Whatever is deemed intellectually great, in America, would, to say the least, be accounted equally so, were it achieved in Europe. If the American be not equal to the European officers, whence is it, that they vanquish them, with inferior means?

The truth is, that, Frederick and Napoleon, perhaps, excepted—and we are not, confident that even they ought to be excepted—we believe general Greene, to have been superior, in all the higher qualities of command, to any general officer, that has appeared in Europe for many centuries.

Preparatory to the commencement of his campaign, Greene's first care was, to provide for his troops subsistence and ammunition. In effecting this primary and most essential pre-requisite of war, he derived great aid from his personal experience, in the business of the commissary and quarter-master departments. Such, indeed, were the difficulties of his situation, that, without this, it is firmly believed, he could not have kept his forces in the field. By means of the knowledge thus acquired, he was enabled, not only to make judicious appointments, in organizing the staff of his army, and to perceive, when his officers, in these departments, performed their duty; he was qualified to dictate to them the measures to be pursued.

This qualification for such a diversity of duties, presented him to his troops, in the twofold relation of their supporter, and commander; and strengthened, not a little, their love of his virtues, their admiration of his talents, and their spirit of prompt obedience to his orders.

The advantages he derived from this condition of things, were numerous and invaluable: for, much of the moral strength of an army consists, in a confidence in its leader, an attachment to his person, and a spirit of subordination, founded on principle; the

latter of which qualities, may be considered as growing out of the two former.

The wisdom and sagacity with which he had organized his army, his salutary regulations, on the score of discipline, and the excellence of his whole arrangement for action, soon began to be apparent; for much to the joy and comfort of his troops, they found their condition, in a short time, exceedingly improved.

To such an extent was this true, that even the common soldiery, sensible of the superintendence of a superior intellect, predicted, confidently, a change of fortune. Their defeat at Camden was soon forgotten, by them, in their anticipation of future victory.

They fancied themselves ready, once more to take the field, and felt a solicitude to meet the enemy, that they might regain their lost reputation, and signalize their prowess, in presence of their new and beloved commander.

However limited, in numbers, such an army be, when thus *morally* strengthened, it is always formidable.

But there were yet other causes, which added much to the energies, and efficiency, of the army of the south. It was the chivalrous spirit, and lofty qualities, of many of its officers. Search the world, and no where will there be found, in an equal number of

commanders, embarked in the same enterprise, a higher amount of gallantry, intelligence, and military devotion. Many of them were, truly, the "choice and master spirits of the time, who might have stood by Cæsar, and given direction."

Most of this band of heroes, had already seen service, in the campaigns of the North, where Washington commanded. By his order, and under his eye, several of them, had, honourably, signalized themselves in battle.

With a few exceptions, they were all young; and, although respectably descended, and liberally educated, yet, far from being wealthy, depended on their swords, for fortune and fame. Born within the limits of the southern department, to that section of the Union, they were most strongly bound, by friendship, kindred, and all the ties, that cling so forcibly to the heart of youth. Superadded, therefore, to a sentiment of patriotism, which led them to hazard life, in their country's defence, they experienced a wish, and cherished a resolution, peculiarly strong, to liberate from invasion, and insult, that section, which was more specifically their native soil. They recollected the exploits of the hardy and resolute sons of the north, at Bennington, Saratoga, and Bunker's hill; and, actuated by a motive of high-minded emulation, determin-

ed to render the fields, in their own department, equally illustrious, by the deeds of the South. In this resolution they were the more confirmed, by an earnest desire to retrieve, by subsequent good conduct, the loss of reputation, which the southern arms had sustained, at Charleston, Stono, Savannah, and Camden.

Composed, in its higher departments, of these elements, supported by a hardy and intrepid soldiery, the army of Greene might be beaten or annihilated, but could not be conquered.

Eldest among his officers, and, at this period, foremost in renown, was general Morgan.

As much, as is the case, with any mortal, that veteran's reputation and fortune, were the work of his sword.

His mind, of perfect Roman texture, its firmness and valour, which, originally, nothing could shake, had been still further strengthened, by much severe and dangerous service. Nor were his corporeal qualities less adapted to the toils of war, and the exertions of battle. His frame being large, and his person muscular, early labour and extensive practice, in athletic, more especially pugilistic exercises, had rendered him exceedingly strong, and capable of enduring great fatigue; and had further taught him

the art of using his strength, when engaged in combat, with the deadliest effect.

He was born in New Jersey, where, from his poverty, and low condition, he had been a day-labourer. To early education and breeding, therefore, he owed nothing. But, for this deficiency, his native sagacity, and sound judgment, and his intercourse, with the best society, made much amends, in after life.

Enterprizing in his disposition, even now, he removed to Virginia, in 1755, with a hope and expectation, of improving his fortune. Here, he continued, at first, his original business of day-labour; but exchanged it, afterwards, for the employment of a wagoner.

His military novitiate, he served in the campaign, under the unfortunate Braddock. The rank he bore, is not precisely known. It must, however, have been humble; for, in consequence of imputed contumely towards a British officer, he was brought to the halbert, and received the inhuman punishment, of five hundred lashes: or, according to his own statement, of four hundred and ninety-nine; for he always asserted, that the drummer charged with the execution of the sentence, miscounted, and jocularly added, "that George the third, was still indebted to him, one lash." To the honour of Morgan, he never practical-

ly remembered this savage treatment, during the revolutionary war. Towards the British officers, whom the fortune of battle placed within his power, his conduct was humane, mild, and gentlemanly.

After his return from this campaign, so inordinately was he addicted to quarrels, and boxing matches, that the villiage of Berrystown, in the county of Frederick, which constituted the chief theatre of his pugilistic exploits, received, from this circumstance, the name of Battletown.

In these combats, although frequently overmatched, in personal strength, he manifested the same unyielding spirit, which characterised him, afterwards, in his military career. When worsted, by his antagonist, he would pause, for a time, to recruit his strength; and, then, return to the contest, again and again, until he rarely failed to prove victorious.

Equally marked was his invincibility of spirit, in maturer age, when, raised, by fortune, and his own merit, to a higher and more honourable field of action. Defeat, in battle, he rarely experienced; but, when he did, his retreat was sullen, stern, and dangerous.

The commencement of the American revolution, found Mr. Morgan married, and cultivating a farm, which, by industry, and economy, he had been enabled to purchase, in the county of Frederick.



Placed at the head of a rifle company, raised in his neighbourhood, in 1775, he marched, immediately, to the American head-quarters in Cambridge, near Boston.

By order of the commander in chief, he, soon afterwards, joined in the expedition against Quebeck; and was made prisoner, in the attempt on that fortress, where Arnold was wounded, and Montgomery fell.

During the assault, his daring valour, and persevering gallantry, attracted the notice, and admiration of the enemy.

The assailing column, to which he belonged, was led by major Arnold.

When that officer was wounded, and carried from the ground, Morgan threw himself into the lead; and, rushing forward, passed the first and second barriers. For a moment, victory appeared certain. But the fall of Montgomery, closing the prospect, the assailants were repulsed, and the enterprise abandoned.

During his captivity, captain Morgan was treated with great kindness, and not a little distinction. He was repeatedly visited, in confinement, by a British officer, of rank, who, at length, made an attempt on his patriotism and virtue, by offering him the commission and emoluments of colonel, in the British

army, on condition that he would desert the American, and join the royal standard.

Morgan rejected the proposal, with scorn; and requested the courtly and corrupt negociator, "never again to insult him, in his misfortunes, by an offer, which plainly implied, that he thought him a villain." The officer withdrew, and did not again recur to the subject.

On being exchanged, Morgan immediately rejoined the American army; and received, by the recommendation of general Washington, the command of a regiment.

In the year 1777, he was placed at the head of a select rifle corps, with which, in various instances, he acted on the enemy, with terrible effect. His troops were considered the most dangerous, in the American service. To confront them, in the field, was almost certain death to the British officers.

On the occasion of the capture of Burgoyne, the exertions and services of colonel Morgan, and his riflemen, were beyond all praise. Much of the glory of the achievement, belonged to them. Yet, so gross was the injustice of general Gates, that he did not even mention them, in his official despatches.

His reason for this, was secret, and dishonourable. Shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne, general

Gates took occasion to hold with Morgan, a private conversation. In the course of this, he told him, confidentially, that the main army was exceedingly dissatisfied, with the conduct of general Washington; that the reputation of the commander in chief, was rapidly declining; and, that several officers, of great worth, threatened to resign, unless a change were produced, in that department.

Colonel Morgan, fathoming, in an instant, the views of his commanding officer, sternly, and with honest indignation, replied, "Sir, I have one favour to ask. Never, again, mention to me this hateful subject: under no other man, but general Washington, as commander in chief, will I ever serve."

From that moment, ceased the intimacy, that had previously subsisted, between him and general Gates.

A few days afterwards, the general gave a dinner, to the principal officers of the British, and some of those, of the American, army. Morgan was not invited.

In the course of the evening, that officer found it necessary to call on general Gates, on official business. Being introduced into the dining-room, he spoke to the general, received his orders, and immediately withdrew, his name unannounced.

Perceiving, from his dress, that he was of high rank, the British officers inquired his name. Being

told, that it was colonel Morgan, commanding the rifle corps, they rose from table, followed him, into the yard, and introduced themselves to him, with many complimentary, and flattering expressions, declaring, that, on the day of action, they had very severely felt him, in the field.

In 1780, having obtained leave of absence, from the army, on account of the shattered condition of his health, he retired to his estate, in the county of Frederick; and remained there, until the appointment of general Gates, to the command of the southern army.

Being waited on, by the latter, and requested to accompany him, he reminded him, in expressions, marked by resentment, of the unworthy treatment he had formerly experienced from him, in return for the important services, which he did not hesitate to assert, he had rendered him, in his operations against the army of general Burgoyne.

Having received no acknowledgment, nor even civility, for aiding to decorate him, with laurels, in the north, he frankly declared, that there were no considerations, except of a public nature, that could induce him to cooperate, in his campaigns, to the south. “*Motives of public good might influence him; because his country had a claim on him, in any*

quarter, where he could promote her interest; but *personal attachment* must not be expected to exist, where he had experienced nothing but neglect and injustice."

The two officers parted, mutually dissatisfied; the one, on account of past treatment, the other, of the recent interview.

In the course of a few weeks, afterwards, congress having promoted colonel Morgan to the rank of brigadier-general, by brevet, with a view to avail themselves of his services, in the south, he proceeded, without delay, to join the army of general Gates. But he was prevented from serving, any length of time, under that officer, by his defeat, near Camden, before his arrival; and his being, soon afterwards, superseded in command, by general Greene.

Such were the qualifications, and such had been the services, of general Morgan, when Greene took command of the southern army. His conduct, in the battle of the Cowpens, will be stated hereafter.

There existed, in his character, a singular contradiction, which is worthy of notice.

Although, in battle, no man was ever more prodigal of the exposure of his person to danger, or manifested a more deliberate disregard of death, yet, so strong was his love of life, at other times, that he

has been frequently heard to declare, "he would agree to pass half his time, as a galley slave, rather than quit this world for another."

The following outline of his person and character, is from the pen of a military friend, who knew him intimately.

"Brigadier general Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating, nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious, and considerate, unadorned, and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed, with keen perseverance, whatever he undertook. He was indulgent, in his military command, preferring always the affections of his troops, to that dread and awe, which surround the rigid disciplinarian."

A considerable time before his death, when the pressure of infirmity began to be heavy, he became seriously concerned, about his future welfare. From that period, his chief solace lay, in the study of the scriptures, and in devotional exercises. He died in the belief of the truths of christianity, and in full communion with the Presbyterian church.

Another officer, destined to figure with great lustre, in the army of the south, was colonel William Washington. An honest soldier, brave as Ajax, and scarcely inferior, in personal strength, always impetuous, at times, perhaps, rash, in action, his sword was his idol; and he was calculated to execute, rather than plan. Leaving to others, the deliberations of the closet, he panted for the field; and his delight, there, was in the tumult of battle. Yet, when the nature of the service, he was engaged in, required it, he manifested, on several occasions, a ready aptitude for the stratagems of war. This officer commanded, now, a regiment of continental cavalry.

He was the eldest son of Baily Washington, Esq., of Stafford county, in the state of Virginia; and belonged to a younger branch, of the original Washington family.

In the commencement of the war, and at an early period of life, he had entered the army, as captain of a company of infantry, under the command of general Mercer. In this corps, he had acquired, from actual service, a practical knowledge of the profession of arms.

He fought in the battle of Long Island; and, in his retreat, through New Jersey, accompanied his great kinsman, cheerful under the gloom, coolly confront-

ing the danger, and bearing, with exemplary fortitude and firmness, the heavy misfortunes, and privations, of the time.

In the successful attack, on the British post at Trenton, captain Washington acted a brilliant, and most important part. Perceiving the enemy, about to form a battery, and point it, in a narrow street, against the advancing American column, he charged them, at the head of his company, drove them from their guns, and, thus, prevented, certainly, the effusion of much blood, perhaps, the repulse, of the assailing party. In this act of heroism, he received a severe wound, in the wrist. It is but justice to add, that, on this occasion, captain Washington was ably, and most gallantly supported, by lieutenant Monroe, now president of the United States, who also sustained a wound, in the hand.

Shortly after this adventure, Washington was promoted to a majority, in a regiment of horse. In this command, he was very actively engaged, in the northern and middle states, with various success, until the year 1780. Advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and placed, at the head of a regiment of cavalry, composed of the remains of three, that had been reduced, by sickness and battle, he was, then,



attached to the army, under general Lincoln, engaged in the defence of South Carolina.

Here, his service was various, and his course eventful; marked, by a few brilliant strokes of fortune, but checkered with two severe disasters. The first of these reverses, was at Monk's corner, where he himself commanded; the other, at Leneau's ferry, where he was second, in command, to colonel White.

Inured to an uncommon extent and variety of hard service, and sufficiently disciplined, in the school of adversity, colonel Washington, although a young man, was, now, a veteran, in military experience. Added to this, he was somewhat accustomed to a warm climate, and had acquired, from actual observation, considerable knowledge of that tract of country, which was to constitute, in future, the theatre of war.

Such was this officer, when, at the head of a regiment of cavalry, he was attached to the army of general Greene. The most distinguished of his subsequent achievements, will be noticed in the regular course of our narrative.

One of his partisan exploits, however, the result of a well conceived stratagem, must be succinctly narrated.

Having learnt, during a scouting excursion, that a large party of loyalists, commanded by colonel Rudge-

ley, was posted at Rudgley's mill, twelve miles from Camden, he determined on attacking them.

Approaching the enemy, he found them so secured, in a large log barn, surrounded by abbattis, as to be perfectly safe, from the operations of cavalry.

Forbidden, thus, to attempt his object, by direct attack, his usual and favourite mode of warfare, he determined, for once, to have recourse to policy.

Shaping, therefore, a pine log, in imitation of a field-piece, mounting it on wheels, and staining it with mud, to make it look like iron, he brought it up, in military style, and affected to make arrangements to batter down the barn.

To give to the stratagem solemnity and effect, he despatched a flag, warning the garrison of the impending destruction, and, to prevent blood-shed, summoned them to submission.

Not prepared to resist artillery, colonel Rudgley obeyed the summons; and, with a garrison of one hundred and three, rank and file, surrendered at discretion.

In the spring of 1782, colonel Washington married Miss Elliot, of Charleston, and established himself at Sandy-Hill, her ancestral seat.

After the conclusion of peace, he took no other concern, in public affairs, than to appear, occasionally, in the legislature of South Carolina.

When general Washington accepted the command in chief, of the armies of the United States, under the presidency of Mr. Adams, he selected, as one of his staff, his kinsman, colonel William Washington, with the rank of brigadier-general. Had other proof been wanting, this alone, was sufficient to decide his military worth.

In private life, he was a man of unsullied honour, united to an amiable temper, lively manners, a hospitable disposition, and a benevolent heart.

A third officer, of great distinction, in the southern army, was colonel Howard, of Baltimore. He commanded the second regiment of Maryland regulars; and, for gallantry and firmness, decision of character and sound judgment, was not exceeded, by any officer, of his rank, in the service of his country.

With great intelligence, and skill in arms, he was one of those heroic spirits, on whom general Greene reposed his hopes, during the time he was deepest in adversity, and, in his high determination, to recover the south, or perish in the attempt.

Although he had been in commission, first, as captain, and afterwards, as major, from the month of June, 1776, he does not appear to have been much engaged in action, until he took his station, at the head of a regiment, in the southern army.

Accomplished in tactics, and ripe in experience, although only, now, in his twenty-seventh year, he was, in all respects, fitted for the operations of the field.

Accordingly, no sooner did an opportunity for action present itself, than his valour, as a soldier, and his reputation, as a commander, became conspicuous, in the midst of the accomplished and the brave.

His brightest laurel was gathered at the Cowpens, where, assuming to himself the responsibility of the act, he charged, without orders, and, at the point of the bayonet, discomfited and scattered, a party of the enemy, superior in number to his own command, and consisting of the flower of the British army.

His interview, immediately after the action, with general Morgan, the commanding officer, was eminently interesting; and, were other evidence wanting, shows, on how precarious a footing, stands, the reputation, and the life, of a warrior.

“My dear Howard,” said Morgan, cordially pressing his hand, as he spoke, “you have given me victory, and I love and honour you; but, had you failed in your charge, which you risked without orders, I would have shot you.”

Previously to this, colonel Howard had distinguished himself among those, who, by their gallantry and good conduct, had sustained the character of the

American arms, and prevented the utter destruction of the forces, in the battle near Camden, where Gates was defeated.

Nor was he entitled to less applause, for the spirit and judgment, which he afterwards displayed, at Guilford, Hobkirk's hill, and the Eutaw springs; at the latter of which, he was severely wounded.

But a letter, from general Greene, dated November 14th, 1781, to a friend, in Maryland, is conclusive, as to the military reputation of colonel Howard.

"This will be handed to you, says the general, by colonel Howard, as good an officer, as the world affords. He has great ability, and the best disposition, to promote the service. My own obligations to him are great—the public's still more so. He deserves a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes. He has been wounded, but has happily recovered, and now goes home, to pay a little attention to his private affairs, and to take charge of the fifth Maryland regiment, recruiting in your state.

With great respect, and esteem,

I am, dear Sir, yours,

N. GREENE."

Colonel Howard was born, June 4th, 1752, on his ancestral estate, near the city of Baltimore. His paternal ancestors were from England, his maternal,

from Ireland. The descendant of a gentleman, easy in circumstances, his education was such, as his rank and fortune entitled him to receive.

On the conclusion of the war, he married Miss Chew, daughter of the honourable Benjamin Chew, of Philadelphia.

Contented and happy, in domestic life, and much occupied, with his private affairs, he has never sought political honours, but left to others to govern the country, which he, by his valour, contributed to set free.

He still resides on his patrimonial estate, surrounded by a large and respectable family, pre-eminent in affluence, and passing the evening of his life, in that dignified and felicitous retirement, which a high and unsullied reputation, a peaceful conscience, a cultivated intellect, and polished manners, alone can bestow.

A fourth officer, uniting, in himself, all that gives dignity and worth to the private citizen, and excellence to the commander, was colonel Otho H. Williams, also a native of the state of Maryland.

This gentleman was formed for eminence in any station. His talents were of a high order, and his attainments, various and extensive. Possessing a person of uncommon symmetry, and peculiarly distinguished, by the elegance of his manners, he would have graced, alike, a court or a camp.

Rich in that species of military science, which is acquired by experience, and a correct, systematic and severe disciplinarian, general Greene confided to him the important trust, of adjutant general to the southern army. The services, which in this, and other capacities, he rendered to that division of the American forces, in the course of their toilsome and perilous operations, were beyond all praise.

He was born, in the county of Prince George, in the year 1748, and received, during his youth, but a slender education. This, he so much improved, by subsequent study, that few men had a finer taste, or a more cultivated intellect.

He commenced his military career, as lieutenant of a rifle company, in 1775; and, in the course of the following year, was promoted to the rank of major, in a rifle regiment.

In this corps, he very honourably distinguished himself, in the defence of fort Washington, on York Island, when assaulted by sir William Howe; and, on the surrender of that post, became a prisoner.

Having suffered much, by close confinement, during his captivity, he was exchanged, for major Ackland, after the capture of Burgoyne, and immediately rejoined the standard of his country.

Being now promoted to the rank of colonel of a regiment of infantry, he was detached, under the baron De Kalb, to the army of the south.

General Gates having been appointed to the command of this division of the American forces, he was present with that officer, at his defeat, before Camden; and, during the action, manifested great valour, and skill, in directing, and leading the operations against the enemy, while resistance was practicable; and, an equal degree of self-possession and address, in conducting the troops from the field, when compelled to retreat.

But, as an officer, his valour and skill, in battle, were among the lowest of his qualifications. His penetration and sagacity, united to a profound judgment, and a capacious mind, rendered him, in the cabinet, particularly valuable.

Hence, he was one of general Greene's favourite counsellors, during the whole of his southern campaigns. Nor did any thing ever occur, either through neglect, or mistake, to impair the confidence, thus reposed in him. In no inconsiderable degree, he was to Greene, what that officer had been to general Washington, his strongest hope, in all emergencies, where great policy and address were required.



This was clearly manifested, by the post assigned to him, by general Greene, during his celebrated retreat, through North Carolina.

In that great and memorable movement, on which the fate of the south was staked, to Williams was confided the command of the rear guard, which was literally the shield and rampart of the army. Had he relaxed, but for a moment, in his vigilance and exertion, or been guilty of a single imprudent act, ruin must have ensued.

Nor was his command much less momentous, when, recrossing the Dan, Greene again advanced on the enemy. Still in the post of danger and honour, he now, in the van of the army, commanded the same corps, with which he had previously moved in the rear. But of these operations, it will be our business to speak more particularly hereafter.

A military friend, who knew him well, has given us the following summary of his character.

“He possessed that range of mind, although self-educated, which entitled him to the highest military station, and was actuated by true courage, which can refuse, as well as give battle. Soaring far above the reach of vulgar praise, he singly aimed at promoting the common weal, satisfied with the consciousness of doing right, and desiring only that share of applause, which was justly his own.

“There was a loftiness and liberality, in his character, which forbade resort to intrigue and hypocrisy, in the accomplishment of his views, and rejected the contemptible practice, of disparaging others to exalt himself.

“In the field of battle, he was self-possessed, intelligent, and ardent; in camp, circumspect, attentive, and systematic; in council, sincere, deep, and perspicuous. During the campaigns of general Greene, he was uniformly one of his few advisers, and held his unchanged confidence. Nor was he less esteemed by his brother officers, or less respected by his soldiery.”

Shortly before the close of the war, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

Another officer, attached to the southern army, in all respects worthy of his companions in arms, and of the glorious cause for which he was contending, was colonel Lee, of the cavalry.

By birth a Virginian, and descended from the most distinguished branch of the Lees, of that state, he possessed the lofty genius of his family, united to invincible courage and firmness, and all the noble enthusiasm of the warrior.

But his ardour, brilliancy, and daring resolution, constituted but a part of his military worth. In him

the fierce impetuosity of youth, was finely blended, with the higher and more temperate qualities of age. If he had, in his temperament, something of the electrical fire of Achilles, it was ennobled by the polished dignity of Hector, and repressed and moderated, by the wisdom of Nestor.

For vigilance, intelligence, decision of character, skill in arms, a spirit of enterprise, and powers of combination, he had but few equals, youthful as he was, in the armies of his country.

As an officer of horse, and a partisan commander, perhaps he had no superior, on earth.

That he was justly entitled to this encomium, appears, as well from the extensive catalogue of his exploits, as from the high confidence, always reposed in him, by the commanding officer under whom he served. This is true, no less in relation to Washington, than Greene. He was the intimate friend and confidant of both. The sentiments of the latter, with regard to him, are forcibly expressed, in the following extract of a letter, dated February 18th, 1782.

“Lieutenant colonel Lee retires, for a time, for the recovery of his health. I am more indebted to this officer, than to any other, for the advantages gained over the enemy, in the operations of the last campaign; and should be wanting in gratitude, not to

acknowledge the importance of his services, a detail of which is his best panegyric."

But, as it is intended, that a distinct memoir of his character shall appear hereafter, we forbear, for the present, to speak of him further.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE character of the soldier, formed, by that of his officer—Greene sensible of this, rejoices in the high qualities of the officers of his army—takes great pains to acquire a knowledge of the force, and capabilities of the enemy—founds his estimate on the character of lord Cornwallis, the commanding general, and the number of his troops—state of the country, in relation to parties—whigs—tories—neutrals or ineffectives—extreme difficulties of the mode of warfare, necessary to be pursued, and the consummate talents, its execution required—The positions of the rival armies—Greene opens the campaign—Tarleton detached, by lord Cornwallis, against Morgan—retreat of the latter—battle of the Cowpens—description of—subsequent movements of the two armies—Greene, leaving the main division of his army, under the command of general Hugher, joins Morgan, on the east bank of the Catawba—commences his celebrated retreat—character of that retreat—compared with the retreat of Moreau—He passes the Yadkin—the two columns of his army join at Guilford court house—retreat continued—the able disposition of his troops—pushes for the lower Dan—fortitude and good conduct of his rear guard—passes the Dan—lord Cornwallis gives up the pursuit, issues a proclamation, and erects, in Hillsborough the royal standard—various modes of warfare—disquisition on the term victory—wherein victory consists—Greene determines to recross the Dan—the legion under Lee, advances—goes in quest of Tarleton—cuts to pieces a large body of tories, under colonel Pyle—Greene follows, with the main column—baffles all attempts of lord Cornwallis, to force him, prematurely, to battle—receives reinforcements and supplies—Battle at Guilford court house—description of—Greene retreats, in order, from the field, but prepares to renew the combat—lord Cornwallis too much crippled to pursue—commences his retreat—Greene

becomes now, the pursuing party—recommends the wounded and sick, of both armies, to the humane attention of the inhabitants of New Garden, a wealthy settlement, of the society of Friends—gives over the pursuit of lord Cornwallis, and encamps at Ramsay's mill—His situation and prospects greatly meliorated—the foundation now laid, for the reconquest of the south—Greene's agency in the capture of lord Cornwallis—Difficulty in settling his plan of future operations—opinions of his officers—determines to march to the south—His opinion of lord Cornwallis, and his probable movements.

THE soldier, when trained to arms, and practically instructed in the details of his duty, is a mere instrument in the hand of his officers. He is wielded, by them with as much facility, as he himself wields his musket or his sword.

To render him efficient, in service, nothing is requisite, in himself, but good spirits, strength, activity, and personal hardihood. All other qualities, useful in war, he derives from his commander.

The captain infuses his own spirit into his company, the major, into his battalion, the colonel, into his regiment, the general, into his division, the commander in chief, into his whole army; and, at the same time, communicates to their movements, the tone of his intellect.

Good officers, therefore, never fail to make good soldiers; it being exceedingly rare, that well disciplined troops, ever refuse, either to obey, or follow their leaders.

Of these truths, no man was more sensible than general Greene. Hence, he no sooner became acquainted with them, than he sincerely rejoiced in the character of his officers; because, in them, he perceived the character of his army. "In relation to my regular troops, said he, to a confidential friend, I have but one wish—that they were more numerous. My officers are brave, intelligent, and skilful; I, also, flatter myself they are already attached to me: they will, therefore, give direction and efficiency to the soldiers. As to the militia, they are as good as any other undisciplined troops. They serve for numbers, show, and camp duty; but cannot be safely relied on, in action. The utmost I expect or wish from them, in battle, is, to give and receive two or three fires, and, then, retreat in tolerable order. If they will do this, my regulars will do the rest."

Having performed the first duty of an able captain, in making himself acquainted with the character and capabilities of his own troops, his next was, to acquire a knowledge of those of his enemy.

Of their number, which constitutes one of the elements of the capacity of an army, he was sufficiently informed. Nor was he a stranger to the character of lord Cornwallis, their commanding general, having previously studied it, in his northern cam-

paigns; especially when opposed to him, in the state of New Jersey. Their troops he knew to be well disciplined, and well provided; he could, therefore, estimate their effective force.

Having made the calculation, and found himself unable to meet them in the field, he resolved on a different mode of warfare. To induce him to this, superadded to the decision of his own judgment, he had before him two instructive examples—the conduct of Washington, and the conduct of Gates.

The former, by making his own views of expediency the rule of his conduct, in defiance of public opinion and public censure, and by foregoing that temporary eclat, which might arise from a brilliant exploit, for the more solid and permanent renown, resulting from the attainment of a great object, had conquered, by delay, and by carefully selecting his time to strike.

The latter, miscalculating, or not calculating at all, his own strength and that of his enemy, over-anxious to pluck a fresh laurel, or shrinking from the imputations that might attach to retarded action, fought precipitately, and encountered ruin.

With Washington in his eye, and his own genius to devise his measures, Greene resolved on cautious movements, and protracted war.



His great object was the recovery of the south; but his subordinate objects, as means towards this, were numerous.

Although unable to meet his enemy, in general combat, yet, to sustain the spirit of the country, it was necessary that he should not altogether shun him; but, watching and confronting his scouts and foraging parties, fight, cripple, and beat, him, in detail. In these operations he had further in view, to straighten him, in his comforts and means of subsistence.

Nor were these the only points, that claimed his attention.

The inhabitants of the surrounding country, were divided into three classes: the friends of freedom, the disaffected, and the wavering or neutral, residing, generally, in distinct settlements, situated somewhat remotely from each other. To manage these, to the best advantage, was a task of equal difficulty and importance. To protect the friendly settlements, and enable them safely to join his standard, to overawe the unfriendly, and prevent them from resorting to the standard of the enemy, and to preserve, at least, the neutrality of the wavering, and induce them, if possible, to declare in his favour,—these objects, all of them necessary to insure success, in the great end of

his operations and toils, required, for their achievement, an extent, an intricacy and a nicety of combination, which none but a consummate leader could effect.

To increase his difficulties, the tract of country, over which it was necessary that his influence should be felt, was exceedingly extensive, reaching six hundred miles, from the Dan to the St. Mary, and three hundred, from the Atlantic to the mountains. To act on such a surface, with such a force, had never, perhaps, before, been attempted by man; and constituted, therefore, a scheme of military operations, gigantic, beyond what history can furnish.

To appoint officers precisely fitted for the various duties assigned to them; so to divide his troops, as to render detachments sufficiently strong, without too far weakening the main body; to move unseen and strike unexpected; to menace one post of the enemy, in appearance, but another in reality; so to connect and arrange his operations, that action in one point, might be felt at a distance; and, to make such a judicious selection of positions, as to be safe himself, while he endangered his adversary; such was the arduous, perhaps we might say, unexampled mode of warfare, which tried the genius, and awakened the resources, of the deliverer of the south.

In all his movements, it was necessary for him to maintain a communication with Virginia, from which he was to receive supplies of provision, munitions, and men.

But such was the fulness of his competency, as a commander, that Greene was never found deficient, where preparation was possible; nor supine, where vigilance was a military virtue. Ably seconded, by Marion, Sumpter, Pickins, and Davie, who, although rarely under his eye, were subject to his orders, he first arrested the current of conquest, and ultimately turned it back on the enemy, with a force that overwhelmed him.

Shortly after taking command of the southern army, he was called on to exhibit his firmness and decision of character, no less in relation to his own troops, than in his policy towards the enemy.

He found, to his surprise, that owing to an alarming laxity of discipline, the soldiers of the American army, had been in the practice, of leaving camp, without permission, visiting their homes, and often protracting their absence from duty, to the term of two or three weeks.

To suppress this usage, so ruinous to the service, he proclaimed, in general orders, his determination,

to punish, by death, the first delinquency of the kind that should be detected.

Accordingly, a deserter, being taken, was shot, in presence of the army, which was drawn up to witness the spectacle.

This single example proved sufficient. Without further trouble, the evil terminated.

Early in December, general Greene received from lord Cornwallis, the following note.

“I think proper to represent to you, that, the officers and soldiers, taken at King’s Mountain, were treated with an inhumanity scarcely credible. I find myself under the disagreeable necessity, of making some retaliation for those unhappy men, who were so cruelly and unjustly put to death, at Gilbert-town.”

To this, the American commander returned the following answer.

“I am too much a stranger to the transactions at Gilbert-town, to reply fully, on that subject. They must have been committed, before my arrival in the department, and by persons under the character of volunteers, who were independent of the army. However, if there was any thing done, in that affair, contrary to the principles of humanity, and the law of nations, and for which they had not the conduct of

your army, as a precedent, I shall be ever ready to testify my disapprobation of it.

“The first example was furnished, on your part, as appears by the list of unhappy sufferers inclosed; and it might have been expected, that the friends of the unfortunate would follow it. Punishing capitally, for a breach of military parole, is a severity, which the principles of modern war will not authorise; unless the inhabitants are to be treated as a conquered people, and subject to all the rigour of military government. The feelings of mankind will for ever decide, when the rights of humanity are invaded. I leave them to judge, of the tendency of your lordship’s order to lieutenant colonel Balfour, after the action, near Camden; of lord Rawdon’s proclamation; and, of Tarleton’s laying waste the country, and distressing the inhabitants, who were taught to expect protection and security, if they observed but neutrality.

“Sending the inhabitants of Charleston to St. Augustine, contrary to the articles of capitulation, is a violation, which I have also to represent, and which I hope your lordship will think yourself bound to redress.”

This letter, replete with sound sense and unanswerable argument, brought the matter to a close;

lord Cornwallis neither retaliated, for supposed offences, nor remonstrated further.

General Greene's first movement from the village of Charlotte, where he yet held his head quarters, was productive of the happiest effect.

The British force, under lord Cornwallis, was stationed at Winnsborough, and a strong detachment, under major general Leslie, was advancing on Camden.

General Greene, with his main army, marched, in the month of December, to the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles to the right of lord Cornwallis, despatching, at the same time, general Morgan, with four hundred continentals under colonel Howard, colonel Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to about six hundred, to take a position on the British left, distant from them about fifty miles.

This judicious disposition, which formed a rallying point, for the friends of independence, both in the east and the west, and facilitated the procurement of provision for the troops, excited his lordship's apprehensions, for the safety of Ninety-six and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced, by the movements of Morgan.

This gave rise to a train of movements, which terminated in the celebrated battle of the Cowpens.

From the whigs of the neighbouring country, who were equally encouraged and gratified by its presence, the western column of Greene's army was receiving daily accessions of strength. Alarmed at this, and at the boldness and success of several of its enterprises, and somewhat offended at the proximity of its position, lord Cornwallis formed a resolution to frustrate its views, and punish its temerity, by driving it from the country, or effecting its destruction.

Pursuant to this, colonel Tarleton, with a strong detachment, amounting, in horse and foot, to near a thousand, was despatched, by his lordship, to the protection of Ninety-six, with orders, to bring general Morgan, if possible, to battle.

To the ardent temper, and chivalrous disposition of the British colonel, this direction was perfectly congenial. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan, with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly.

But the retreat of the American commander, was not long continued. Irritated by pursuit, reinforced by a body of militia, under general Pickens, and reposing great confidence, in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, he halted at the Cowpens, and.

after consulting his officers, and finding their wishes in unison with his own, determined to gratify his adversary, in his eagerness for combat.

This was on the night of the sixteenth of January 1781. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Tarleton, being apprised of the position of Morgan, pressed towards him with redoubled rapidity, lest, by renewing his retreat, he should again elude him.

But, by neglecting to study the character of his adversary, this high spirited warrior committed an error, which blasted his laurels, and humbled his pride.

Morgan, now, had other thoughts, than those of flight. Already had he, for several days, been at war with himself, in relation to his conduct. Glorifying in action, his spirit recoiled from the humiliation of retreat, and his resentment was roused by the insolence of pursuit. This mental conflict becoming more intolerable to him than disaster or death, his courage triumphed, perhaps, over his prudence, and he resolved on putting every thing to the hazard of the sword.

Nor had he been, in any measure, judicious in the selection of his ground. His position was open, and practicable for cavalry, in which the enemy trebled him in number. His flanks, being unprotected, might



be readily turned, and, Broad river, running parallel in his rear, forbade retreat, in case of misfortune. Thus situated, his defeat and ruin were to be considered inseparable. Notwithstanding this, trusting to his fortune and superior soldiership, he appeared to have a confident anticipation of victory.

By military men, who have studied the subject, his disposition for battle is said to have been masterly. The following perspicuous and succinct account of it, is given by general Lee.

“Two light parties of militia, under major M'Dowel, of North Carolina, and major Cunningham, of Georgia, were advanced in front, with orders to feel the enemy as he approached; and, preserving a desultory well aimed fire as they fell back to the front line, to range with it and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with general Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line, a second was stationed, composed of the continental infantry and two companies of Virginia militia, under captains Triplet and Taite, commanded by lieutenant colonel Howard. Washington's cavalry, reinforced with a company of mounted militia, armed with sabres, was held in reserve; convenient to support the infantry, and protect the

horses of the rifle militia, which were tied, agreeably to usage, in the rear."

In the common acceptation of the term, and on ordinary occasions, Morgan was no orator. But the present conjuncture, big with the fate of his army and himself, had aroused the secret energies of his soul, and given to his intellect unusual fire.

Availing himself of the solemn interval, between the last act of preparation, and the first of combat, he passed along his line, with a firm and cheerful countenance, forcibly and eloquently exhorting his troops, with topics of argument and address judiciously adapted to their character and feeling.

To the militia he pictured their families and their homes, and the valour they had often displayed in defence of them, even when unsupported by veteran troops. The reputation they had already established, he was confident they would not forfeit, now, when led by himself, and sustained by infantry and cavalry, of experience and renown. He represented, to them, his long tried fortune, in war. This, he declared, had never forsaken him, under circumstances so promising and auspicious as the present. By riflemen, in no respect, superior to themselves, he had often scattered or brought to submission, an enemy much more formidable than that which was advanc-

ing—an enemy led by a veteran, not by a youth, without experience. He, finally, exhorted them to be firm and steady; to point their fire, with well directed aim, and pour in but two skilful volleys, at striking distance, and, by the aid of their veteran companions, the victory would be secure.

To the continentals, his address was brief. He reminded them of the confidence he had always reposed in them; that he considered them among the best troops in service, and that his mortification would be infinite, should they now disappoint him: he assured them that firmness and good conduct, on their part, would render victory certain; and desired them not to be disconcerted, by the retreat of the militia, “*that* being a part of his plan and orders.”

Posting himself, then, in the line of the regulars, he waited, in silence, the advance of the enemy.

Tarleton coming in sight, hastily formed his disposition for battle, and commenced the assault. Of this conflict, the following picture is from the pen of general Lee.

“The American light parties quickly yielded, fell back, and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy, shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire; but continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia,

they retired and gained, with haste, the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickins took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses; probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate; and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly, as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M<sup>r</sup>Arthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward; and, outstretching our front endangered Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire, and general Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near, Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the

happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by a simultaneous effort, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general. The British cavalry having taken no part in the action, except the <sup>four</sup> two troops attached to the line, were in force to cover the retreat. This, however, was not done. The zeal of lieutenant colonel Washington in pursuit having carried him far before his squadron, Tarleton turned upon him with a troop of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, seconded by many of his officers. The American lieutenant colonel was first rescued from this critical contest by one of his sergeants, and afterwards by a fortunate shot from his bugler's pistol."

"In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including

ten officers, were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates were taken. The artillery, eight hundred muskets, two standards, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into our possession."

The result of this action, so beneficial to the country, and so signally glorious to the American arms, was attributable, chiefly, to two causes; the judgment and skill of colonel Howard, and the precipitancy and want of judgment, of colonel Tarleton.

The former, seizing the critical moment, confounded and staggered the enemy, by a terrible fire; and, then, pressing him with the bayonet, consummated his overthrow.

The latter, in the opinion of military men, committed a variety of faults. Instead of halting, to refresh and invigorate his troops, he hurried them into action, without the least necessity, when they were fatigued and exhausted. He permitted them to advance, in an irregular and unsoldierly manner, when the first line of the militia fell back; he neglected to charge the broken and retreating militia, with his dragoons; and, when he ordered up his reserve, brought it completely within the range of Howard's fire, so as to expose it equally with the front line, and, thus, forego the advantage to be derived from it.

Another act of colonel Howard, in this engagement, manifested uncommon coolness, sagacity and self-command; and is believed to have contributed, in no small degree, to the issue of the day.

After having thrown the British line into confusion, by his fire and unexpected charge, he called out to them, in a loud and commanding voice, to surrender; and they should receive "good quarters."

On this summons, five hundred of them instantly threw down their arms.

The victory of the Cowpens, although achieved under the immediate command of Morgan, was the first stroke of general Greene's policy, in the south; and augured favourably of his future career. It led to one of the most arduous, ably-conducted, and memorable operations, that occurred in the course of the revolutionary war—the retreat of Greene, and the pursuit of lord Cornwallis, during the inclemencies of winter, from the Catawba to the Dan, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles.

On the part of the American commander, that retreat, with his advance, manœuvres, and action at Guilford, which soon afterwards followed, may be safely pronounced, with the exception, perhaps, of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, a succession of as masterly movements, as are recorded in the

page of military history. For any but a genius of the highest order, and a soul of the firmest texture, to have planned, and achieved such a scheme of operations, would have been impossible.

Except in the number and equipment of the forces in motion, and the eclat arising from that circumstance, it is, certainly, in no respect surpassed by the retreat of Moreau, through the defiles of Germany, which called forth the admiration and applauses of Europe, and placed that officer at the head of the captains of the French empire.

As the transactions of this conjuncture, more severely, perhaps, than those of any other period of his life, tested the abilities of general Greene, and threw on his renown its brightest lustre, an account of them, somewhat circumstantial, is due to his memory.

Galled, in his pride, and crippled, in his schemes, by the overthrow of Tarleton, lord Cornwallis resolved, by a series of prompt and vigorous measures, to avenge the injury, and retrieve the loss, which the royal arms had sustained, at the Cowpens. In his meditated plan of operations, for this purpose, he embraced three objects: to advance rapidly on Morgan, retake his prisoners, and destroy his force; to maintain an intermediate position, and prevent his union



with general Greene; or, in case of the junction of the two divisions of the army, to cut off their retreat towards Virginia, and force them to action, south of the Dan.

He and Morgan were both on the west, Greene, on the east side of the Catawba.

His lordship, having committed to the flames his heavy baggage, and reduced to the condition of light troops, his whole army, dashed towards Morgan, to strike him, before he could pass that river.

But the American commander, no less vigilant and provident than himself, plainly foreseeing what his movements would be, hastened his march, and had made good his passage of the river, just as the British van arrived at the bank.

General Greene, apprized of the movement of lord Cornwallis, and apprehending that his object was to pass into his rear, and cut off his communication with Virginia, put his army, also, in motion, towards the north. But, an express arriving, with information of the defeat of Tarleton, he instantly perceived, that his lordship's first object, was the overthrow of Morgan and the recapture of his prisoners.

Ordering his troops to proceed, under general Hugher, on their march towards Salisbury, where he meditated a junction with the detachment of Mor-

gan, he himself, escorted by a few dragoons, set out for the head-quarters of that officer, and joined him, a few hours after he had crossed the Catawba.

Despatching the prisoners for safety, under a guard of militia, towards the northern states, these two officers prepared to dispute with his lordship, the passage of the river; and, if possible, retard his advance, until the troops under general **Hugher** should reach **Salisbury**.

Fortunately a sudden swell of the **Catawba**, in consequence of a copious fall of rain, detained the **British**, for two days, on its western bank, and placed the prisoners, captured at the **Cowpens**, entirely beyond the prospect of rescue. This occurrence was hailed by the pious, as an interposition of **Providence** in behalf of **America**.

Early in the morning of the third day, being the first of **February 1781**, the enemy effected their passage, in several columns, at as many different fords, and forced the **Americans** again to fall back.

Here commenced the retreat of general **Greene**, in the course of which, he displayed such resources, and gained, in the end, such lasting renown.

Sensible of the immense prize, for which he was contending, he tasked, to the utmost, his genius, in the struggle. On its issue was staked, not merely

the lives of a few brave men—not, alone, the existence of a whole army; but, the fate of the south, and the integrity of the union. For, should the American forces now be cut off, it was inevitable, that the three southern states, at least, must be re-annexed to the British empire.

So eager and rapid was the advance of lord Cornwallis, that general Greene, perceiving he would reach Salisbury, before the division of the army, under general Hugher, sent orders, by express, to that officer, to march, with all possible despatch, by a more direct route, to Guilford court-house, where he promised to join him, with the division under Morgan.

Much rain having fallen, and the soil of the country consisting of a tough, red clay, interspersed with rounded stones, the roads were rendered inexpressibly bad. Notwithstanding this, general Greene, pushing his retreat, with great activity, crossed the Yadkin, a broad and rapid river, fifty miles distant from the Catawba, on the night of the second. So close was the pursuit, at this point, that, when about to embark, his rear guard was fiercely assaulted, by the British van. It sustained, however, no damage.

Here, again, the American commander having secured the boats, and the river being swollen, by the late rains, the enemy experienced a further detention.

To his great mortification, lord Cornwallis now perceived, that in two of his objects, the destruction of Morgan's detachment, and the prevention of its union with the main division, he was completely frustrated, by the activity of Greene. But, to intercept the retreat of the Americans, after their union, and compel them to action, south of the Dan, was still perhaps practicable. To the achievement of this, as his last hope, he now directed his undivided energies.

Moving to the head-branches of the Yadkin, where its waters were fordable, he threw himself over it, and, by forced marches, bent his course towards the Upper Dan.

In pressing for that point, his lordship manifested sound policy, and correct calculation.

His present position enabled him to reach the Upper Dan, before general Greene; the waters of the Lower Dan could not be forded, on account of the late rains; and he believed it impracticable, to procure boats sufficient for the transportation of the American troops. In his estimation, therefore, battle was certain.

But the full extent of his adversary's resources had not yet been disclosed to him.

The expected junction of his troops, at Guilford court-house, being safely effected, on the seventh of the month, general Greene, on examining his force, found himself still too weak, to hazard an engagement. His safety, therefore, consisted in the continuance of retreat.

Fresh difficulties now presenting themselves, new arrangements became necessary to meet them.

From the position held by lord Cornwallis, to reach and pass the Upper Dan, was altogether impracticable. The Lower Dan *might* be attained, without molestation; and, probably, also a sufficiency of boats, for passing it, procured. But the transportation of an army was a work of time. Should the enemy, therefore, be pressing on his rear, when he might reach the river, great loss, in baggage and stores, must necessarily be sustained, in attempting its passage. A portion of his troops must also be sacrificed.

Such was the situation, and such the reasoning, of the American commander, at this most trying and eventful conjuncture.

A cloud of adversity so gloomy and procellous, has rarely overshadowed a military leader. But the genius of Greene, was neither to be obscured by its

darkness, nor his energies deadened by its threatening aspect. Self-collected, and adapting his conduct to the nature of the crisis, his firmness grew with the increase of danger; and the measure of his greatness, was the extent of the difficulties he was called to encounter.

The plan he pursued, on the present occasion, was the only one that could have saved his army; and this he devised and adopted, with great promptness.

Determined to attempt the Dan, at Irwin's ferry, and having designated the route most practicable and proper for the army to follow, he despatched colonel Carrington, his quarter-master general, a most intelligent and able officer, to collect boats, and make all other necessary arrangements for crossing.

But, for the completion of his scheme of retreat, another measure was yet to be added.

To secure the safety of his army, it was necessary that he should receive, at short intervals, correct information of lord Cornwallis's position and movements: to promote its comfort, it was requisite that its rear should be protected, in its march, from repeated assaults: and, to enable it to pass the Dan, without being seriously injured, during its transport-

ation, it was essential, that, on its arrival there, it should be considerably in advance of the enemy's van.

For the attainment of these objects, general Greene formed a corps of light troops, amounting, to seven hundred, composed of a select body of infantry, under colonel Howard, Washington's cavalry, Lee's legion, and a few of his best militia riflemen.

General Morgan having, for reasons, which were never deemed satisfactory, declined the proffered honour of leading this detachment, the command of it was given to colonel Williams. Every act of that high minded soldier proved, that an officer more capable and worthy of so elevated and important a trust could not have been selected, from the American army.

His orders were, in the words of one of his associates in arms, who acted a conspicuous part on the occasion, "to take post between the retreating and the advancing army, to hover round the skirts of the latter, to seize every opportunity of striking in detail, and to retard the enemy, by vigilance and judicious positions; while Greene, with the main body, should hasten towards the Dan, the boundary of his present toils and dangers."

The fitness of general Morgan for such a service is exceedingly doubtful. Much more enamoured of action than policy, and, of a temper too stern and irritable, to submit to the teasing of repeated petty attacks, and the galling impression of close and insolent pursuit, there is reason to apprehend, that he would have turned on his adversary, in a moment of resentment, and, obedient to the impulse of valour, rather than to the dictates of prudence, or the orders of his superior, endangered both his own detachment, and the main army. His refusal, therefore, of the command, was probably fortunate.

Colonel Williams, on the other hand, was peculiarly adapted to the station assigned him. Of an expanded, enlightened, and well regulated intellect, possessing the attribute of self command, in a degree that was unusual, and being no less vigilant and circumspect, than decisive and bold, he was of a temperament of mind equally prone to action or policy, as circumstances demanded. He never hazarded any thing, unless when necessary for the promotion of the service, to which he was appointed; and, then, he risked both himself and his troops, with a gallantry of spirit, and a generous enthusiasm,



that nothing could surpass. His conduct, in the present crisis, justifies fully this tribute to his memory.

Having completed his arrangement, general Greene placed himself at the head of his army, and actively pursued his retreat towards the Dan.

From this moment, the detachment under colonel Williams, presented a spectacle, which, although witnessed by many persons, now living, cannot be denied to exhibit, in the recital, almost as much of the extravagance of fiction, as of the sobriety of fact.

Forgetful of themselves, and bent exclusively on the preservation of those, they were appointed to protect, these brave troops, confronted difficulty and danger, and submitted to privation and hardship, with a persevering loyalty, and a self-devotedness, that have scarcely a parallel in the records of war.

So close and uninterrupted was the pursuit, that one meal a day, was all the sustenance they had leisure to take; and, so severe, at night, was their duty, in picquets and patrols, that six hours' sleep, out of forty-eight, was all the repose they were permitted to enjoy. This, with marching through deep and heavy roads, exposure to cold and rainy weather, and frequent skirmishing with the pursuing foe, would seem to carry hardship to the utmost height, that humanity could bear.

Yet, were these soldiers of freedom, cheerful, healthy, and apparently happy. Proud of their situation, they would not have exchanged it, until the completion of the service, for all the fruition, that the ease and abundance of home could afford. Such are the charms of danger and suffering, when incurred in the discharge of an honourable trust; and so much can the valiant and the high minded sustain, when actuated by duty, and attracted by glory.

So immediate, during a considerable portion of one day, was the proximity of colonel Williams to the enemy, and, weary of unavailing conflict, so peaceable was the demeanour of the parties towards each other, that a stranger would have supposed them to be sections of the same army. Except in crossing a stream or in passing a defile, the pursuers made no attempt to molest.

Greene having effected his passage of the Dan, on the morning of the thirteenth, and Williams, on the evening of the same day, they met, on the opposite shore, with mutual congratulations; and, free from danger, permitted their troops to repose from their toils, to shelter themselves from the weather, and to enjoy plenty.

Frustrated thus, in all his purposes, throughout this long and arduous movement, lord Cornwallis,

although the pursuing party, must be acknowledged to have been fairly vanquished, in the contest.

Victory is the successful issue of a struggle for superiority. Military leaders contend for different objects; to vanquish their enemies, in open combat; to attack and overthrow them, by stratagem and surprise; to exhaust their resources, by delay of action; or, to elude them, in retreat, until, strengthened by reinforcements, they may be able to turn and meet them, in the field.

These several modes of warfare, require different means, for their successful execution. The first, calls specifically for the sword, which is wielded by the physical strength of the army: the three last are conducted, more exclusively, by the genius of the commanders. Here, intellectual is substituted for physical power; military policy, for military force.

We shall not pause to inquire, in which of these forms of war, a victory is most creditable to the talents of a leader. Among civilized and enlightened nations, the point is already decided. Wherever mind is preferred to matter, the victory of genius, will always take an ascendancy over that of the sword.

When it is our purpose to attach to a commander a moderate reputation, we denominate him, a "good

*fighting officer;*” meaning, by this, that he has more of animal courage and personal activity, than of intellect and combination.

A victory gained in the field, is accompanied by the pomp and pageantry of battle. It is broad and dazzling, and has strong attractions for the common mind. But, genius, in effecting a victory, works less ostentatiously; and the merit of the achievement is recognized, only, by the discerning and the intelligent.

Were it requisite, further to illustrate this point, we might add, that the more vulgar entertainments of the stage, exhibited in the midst of rich and gorgeous scenery, attract and highly delight the multitude; while the elevated and exquisite productions of the Drama, represented in the chaste simplicity of nature, are relished only where sound judgment and taste predominate.

To estimate the talents of a general officer, then, by the number and extent of the battles he has fought, and even won, is a vulgar error. He, on the other hand, is a leader of talents, who conquers by policy; who, substituting his own genius for the sword of his army, spares, as much as possible, the blood of his troops, fighting only when necessary, or when, by

gaining an advantage, he is enabled to strike with decisive effect.

Hence the fallacy of the opinion, too prevalent even in our own country, that, because the military leaders of Europe have shed more blood, and consumed more gun-powder, than those of America, they must, therefore, be possessed of superior abilities.

Such a sentiment corresponds, sufficiently, with the state and condition of savage tribes, where a leader is selected, on account of his personal prowess and strength. But, in an enlightened nation, where genius is the predominant attribute of the commander, it ought not to be tolerated.

The victory, then, of general Greene, over lord Cornwallis, in his memorable retreat, from the Catawba to the Dan, although less splendid, is equally creditable, with that achieved over the same officer, by the sword of Washington, within the ramparts of Yorktown. Were it not for the policy and address, exhibited by the commander in chief, when preparing to invest the British leader, which throw their lustre on the subsequent conquest, we should not hesitate to pronounce it more creditable.

To render the success of Greene's retreat the more signal, in itself, and the more honourable to

its conductor, the country through which he passed, superabounded in royalists, much more inclined to withhold, than to furnish resources, to deceive than to communicate correct information, and to retard, than promote the movements of the army. The food of his troops was deficient, in quantity; their clothing much more so. Their shoes were worn out, and they had but one blanket to four men. The weather was tempestuous and cold, rain and snow alternately falling, in considerable quantities, during the retreat.

The British troops, on the contrary, were amply provided in food and clothing; and had as much camp equipage, as, at the commencement of their march, they had chosen to retain. So great was the difference, in point of comfort, between the retreating and the pursuing army.

The exertions made by the royal, to compel the American commander, to action, could not, in wisdom and energy, have been surpassed.

Such were the difficulties encountered and vanquished, by the hero of the south.

To crown the whole, no loss was sustained, by him either in men, munitions, artillery, or any thing that enters into the equipment of an army.

Just, in his measures, and sensible of the influence of merited applause on the minds of the generous, Greene, on the north of the Dan, expressed in general orders, his obligations to his whole army, and, with nice discrimination, bestowed on officers and soldiers, the special commendations to which their services entitled them.

On this occasion, he recognized, with marked distinction, the exemplary conduct of the colonels, Williams, Carrington, and Lee.

Deeply chagrined, at being surpassed in generalship, by the American commander, lord Cornwallis resolved, notwithstanding, to profit by the events that had recently occurred.

Having compelled general Greene to a temporary abandonment of North Carolina, he affected to consider the state as conquered, and reannexed to the British empire. To his credit it must be acknowledged, that this was a measure, not only allowable in war, but perfectly worthy of an enlightened captain, whose duty required him, to secure, by policy, what he had acquired by power. Nor did he manifest less judgment, in attempting its execution.

The country around Hillsborough, but more especially to the southward and westward of it, was deeply disaffected towards the cause of freedom.

Establishing his head-quarters in that town, his lordship erected there the royal standard, calling on all faithful subjects to repair to it, without delay; and warning the rebellious to be equally prompt, in returning to their loyalty, claiming protection, and receiving pardon.

Aware of the fatal tendency of this system, unless immediately met by countervailing measures, general Greene, whose sagacity and judgment, in military matters, rarely failed him, without waiting for his expected succours from Virginia, determined to recross the Dan, and dispute the sovereignty of North Carolina, on its own soil.

Preparatory to this, to reconnoitre the position and movements of the enemy, to hold in check the spirit of disaffection, and sustain the hopes and exertions of his friends by showing that the state was not surrendered, to intercept such bodies of royalists as might be on their march to Hillsborough, and to procure intelligence, generally, he despatched over the Dan, a corps of light troops, composed of infantry, riflemen, and cavalry, under the command of colonel Lee.

The more fully to impart to that officer his plan of operations, and to impress him the more deeply with the importance of vigilance and great circum-



spection, he left his position, north of the Dan, and, crossing that river, under a small escort of dragoons, risked his person, in passing through a hostile settlement, and overtook him, at the distance of more than twenty miles from head-quarters. After continuing a night with him, most of it spent in a free and solemn conference, and in communicating his final instructions and advice, he returned to the army, and Lee proceeded on the business of his command.

The correctness of the apprehensions of Greene, and the wisdom of the measures he had just adopted, were soon apparent: for Lee had been but a few days, on the south of the Dan, when he encountered, cut to pieces, and dispersed, a body of five hundred tories, repairing to the royal standard, under the command of colonel Pyle.

In its consequences, this stroke was exceedingly felicitous. Intelligence of it being conveyed, by the survivors, to all parts of the country, each straggling individual protesting, that he alone, of all the party, had escaped the sword, the tories who were preparing to assemble in arms, were struck with dismay, and their exertions in favour of royalty, paralysed.

Uneasy and restless, in a state of quietude, while the interests of his country called for action, general Greene, having completed his arrangements with the

government of Virginia, for supplies of troops, provisions, and military stores, recrossed the Dan with his army, on the 23d of February, being the tenth day, after the termination of his celebrated retreat.

In the tract of country, lying between the Haw and Deep rivers, was situated an extensive and thickly populated settlement, consisting almost entirely of royalists. The more effectually to overawe these, and deter them from repairing to the British standard, the American commander moving to the South, took a position, in the centre of the settlement.

With a view to favour and promote what general Greene had made arrangements to prevent, lord Cornwallis, about the same time, advancing from Hillsborough, marched his army into the same quarter.

Here, again, were these two great commanders, equal to any the age had produced, in the vicinity of each other, resolutely bent on mutual embarrassment, circumvention, and overthrow. To induce the royalists of the place, to flock to his standard, was the object and wish of the British chief; because, without such addition, his force must diminish, by the operations of war; to prevent this, and, at the same time, to protect his friends, and encourage them to rally around the banner of freedom, was the end of

the American. Thus, was each leader forbidden, by his views of interest and expediency, to abandon to the other this section of country.

Already had they contended, in a trial of skill, and Greene had proved superior. It was obvious, now, that they must shortly encounter, in a trial with the sword. Success in this, depending much on the influence of accident, could not be reached by human calculation.

As yet general Greene's expected reinforcements had not arrived. Still, therefore, was he unable to cope with his adversary in the field. For a time, then, he must avoid battle, but not retreat. Hence arose a second trial of military skill, more complicated, and not less interesting and important, than that which had been terminated by the passage of the Dan.

Neither army had erected fortifications, of any description; and the country being level, and not much intersected by streams of water, presented nothing that could be technically denominated a natural stronghold. In avoiding action, therefore, the American commander must place his reliance, on his own vigilance, and skill in movement.

To secure intelligence, and guard against surprise, Greene threw into his front the same light corps,

which had previously constituted his rear; and entrusted the command to the same officer.

It was now about the beginning of March. Here commenced the second essay in military policy, which, within a small tract of country, was continued, by marches, counter-marches, feints, selections of positions, and every other stratagem that genius could devise, until the tenth or eleventh of the month, when lord Cornwallis, convinced of the impracticability of either bringing his enemy to action, or forcing him to retreat, gave up the contest. During this period, the American leader changed his place of encampment twice, at least, every twenty-four hours; frequently oftener; so that, at times, the British commander did not know where to find him; and was afraid of being himself attacked by surprise.

On the part of general Greene, nothing like this occurred. From the vigilance and activity of his light troops, he was never three hours, at a time, without correct information of the position of his foe.

To give rest to his fatigued and harassed troops, and renovate their strength, against the day of action, to which he felt confident that his adversary, as well as himself was steadfastly looking, as soon as his forces should be sufficiently augmented, lord

Cornwallis took post, with his army, at Bell's Mill, on the waters of Deep river.

For the same purposes, and to wait for reinforcements, which he knew must shortly arrive, general Greene fixed his head-quarters, at the Troublesome iron-works. In selecting this position, he manifested his usual discernment and skill. It enabled him to maintain his communication with Virginia, the chief source of his hopes and expectations, as to troops, provisions, and military stores.

It was now, that in the consummate abilities of the American leader, lord Cornwallis began to perceive his own ultimate and unavoidable discomfiture, unless prevented by some stroke of fortune.

In the last struggle for superiority, he had lost a double prize. He had failed to bring his adversary to action, while his force was inferior; and he had received no accession to his own army, from the royalists of the country. For, until the British arms should attain a decided ascendancy, those deluded citizens had prudently determined to remain at their homes. So salutary, in its effects, was the overthrow of colonel Pyle; an event, which, in his sound judgment, general Greene estimated more highly, than he would have done the discomfiture of an equal number of British troops.

At length, to the unspeakable joy of Greene, arrived his expected reinforcements, with supplies of provisions and military stores.

Having spent a few days, in the further discipline and amalgamation of his army, by the intermingling of fresh with veteran soldiers, it was, now, determined, by him, no longer to decline a meeting with the enemy, but to seek battle, if it should not be offered.

A similar disposition prevailing, on both sides, a trial in arms could not be remote. It occurred, at Guilford court-house, on the fifteenth of the month; and was one of the most obstinate, sanguinary, and splendid affairs, that marked the course of the revolutionary war.

The policy of Greene, in now, encountering his foe, was no less masterly, than it had been before, in perseveringly avoiding him.

From the comparative strength of the two armies, he was confident, that, although he might be forced from the field, he could not experience a very serious disaster. He must, necessarily, in the action, cripple and reduce the British force, which, in the present posture of affairs, could not be recruited; while any loss he might sustain, could be easily remedied, by further reinforcements. His condition, therefore, after battle, must be relatively amended.

Such was the reasoning of general Greene; and, its correctness was demonstrated by the effects of the battle, which shortly ensued. It was his interest, therefore, to engage, as soon as he could do it on favourable terms.

Nor was a trial of strength less the wish of the opposite party.

Diminished, by the casualties incident to a state of war, far beyond its accession of fresh troops, it was obvious, that the British army was destined to ruin, unless saved by a removal of the cause, to which this was attributable. That cause was the presence and operations of the army of Greene.

To destroy the influence of this army, by compelling a retreat, lord Cornwallis had found to be impracticable. Nothing remained, therefore, but to destroy it, by the sword, or to retreat himself. Besides, the hopes of the friends of freedom were strengthened, their energies invigorated, and the American forces were increasing in numbers, as well as in discipline. Each day's delay, therefore, threw a deeper shade over the declining prospects of the royal arms.

Such was the critical situation, to which the policy of Greene, had reduced his adversary.

Both leaders were now desirous of battle; but from different motives. In the latter, this desire arose from a wish to avoid ruin, which must, however, more certainly and speedily overwhelm him, should he sustain a defeat. In the former, it was produced, by a solicitude to meliorate his condition, which he could not fail to do, even although victory should declare against him.

On this battle, lord Cornwallis staked his army, and his hopes; while general Greene, staking nothing, but the lives of a few of his troops, fought under a certainty of gain. The one must conquer or fall; the other was sure of being benefited, even by defeat.

Corresponding to their situations, and the different views and feelings, arising out of them, was the conduct of the two leaders, on the field of battle.

General Greene fought bravely, exposing, to every peril, his army, and his own person,\* to injure his ad-

\*The exertions of the two rival generals, both in preparing for this action, and, during the course of it, were never surpassed; and, forgetful of every thing, but the fortune of the day, they, on several occasions, mingled in the danger, like common soldiers.

In one instance, Greene was near being cut off, a detachment of the enemy having partly gained his rear, within thirty paces of him, while, in advance of his troops, he was intent on the direction of an important movement.

Fortunately, major Pendleton, one of his aids, discovering his situation, and a small copse of woods concealing him from the foe, he regained the line, without injury.



versary, secure victory, if practicable, and, at all events, to prevent disaster. But he calmly retreated, when it was no longer prudent, to maintain his ground.

Lord Cornwallis, on the contrary, desperate in his fortune, and resolutely bent on victory or death, risked every thing, firing even among his own troops, to repulse his enemy and keep the field.

General (at that time colonel) Lee, who acted himself a conspicuous part in it, gives the following account of the disposition and movements, in this memorable engagement.

“ Guilford court-house, erected near the great state road, is situated on the brow of a declivity, which descends gradually with an undulating slope for about a half mile. It terminates in a small vale, intersected by a rivulet. On the right of the road is open ground with some few copses of wood until you gain the last step of the descent, where you see thick glades of brushy wood reaching across the rivulet. On the left of the road from the court-house, a deep forest of lofty trees, which terminates nearly in a line with the termination of the field on the opposite side of the road. Below this forest is a small piece of open ground, which appeared to have been cultivated in corn the preceding summer. This small field was long, but

narrow, reaching close to the swamp bordering upon the rivulet.

“In the road captain Singleton was posted, in a line with the termination of the large field and the commencement of the small one, with two six pounders within close shot of the rivulet, where the enemy, keeping the road, would pass. Across the road on his left, some few yards in his rear, the North Carolina militia were ranged under generals Butler and Eaton. At some distance behind this line, the Virginia militia, led by the generals Stevens and Lawson, were formed in a deep wood; the right flank of Stevens and the left flank of Lawson resting on the great road. The continental infantry, consisting of four regiments, were drawn up in the rear of the Virginia militia, in the field to the right of the road; the two regiments of Virginia, conducted by colonel Greene and lieutenant colonel Hawes, under the order of brigadier Hunger, composing the right; and the two of Maryland, led by colonel Gunby and lieutenant colonel Ford, under the orders of colonel Williams, composing the left. Of these, only the regiment of Gunby was veteran; the three others were composed of new soldiers, among whom were mingled a few who had served from the beginning of the war; but all the officers were experienced and approved. Greene, well informed of his ene-

my's inferiority in number, knew he could present but one line, and had no reserve; considering it injudicious to weaken either of his lines by forming one. On the right, lieutenant colonel Washington, with his cavalry, the old Delaware company under the brave captain Kirkwood, and colonel Lynch with a battalion of the Virginia militia, was posted, with orders to hold safe that flank. For the same purpose, and with the same orders, lieutenant colonel Lee was stationed on the left flank with his legion and the Virginia riflemen commanded by colonel Clarke.

“In the rear line our small park was placed, with the exception of two sixes with captain Singleton,—who was now with the front line, but directed to repair to the rear as soon as the enemy should enter into close battle, and there take his assigned station.

“As soon as the British van appeared, Singleton opened a cannonade upon it,—convincing lord Cornwallis of his proximity to the American army. Lieutenant M'Cleod, commanding the royal artillery, hastened up with two pieces, and, stationing himself in the road near the rivulet, returned our fire. Thus the action commenced: the British general in the mean time arranging his army in order of battle. Although he could form but one full line, he took the resolution of attacking an able general advantage—

ously posted, with a force more than double, a portion whereof he knew to be excellent, supported by a cavalry of the first character. Yet such was his condition, that lord Cornwallis was highly gratified with having it in his power, even on such terms, to appeal to the sword. The seventy-first, with the regiment of Bose, formed his right under the order of major general Leslie; his left was composed of the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant colonel Webster.

“The royal artillery directed by lieutenant M’Cleod and supported by the light infantry, of the guards and the yagers, moved along the road in the centre. The first battalion of guards, under lieutenant colonel Norton, gave support to the right. While brigadier O’Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, maintained the left, lieutenant colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry in column, formed the reserve on the road, in the rear of the artillery.

“The moment the head of the British column passed the rivulet, the different corps, in quick step, deployed to the right and left, and soon were ranged in line of battle.

“Leslie instantly advanced upon the North Carolina militia. These troops were most advantageously posted under cover of a rail fence, along the margin

of the woods; and Campbell's riflemen and the legion infantry connected in line with the North Carolina militia, turning with the fence as it approached the rivulet, raked by their fire the right of the British wing, entirely uncovered:—the legion cavalry, in the woods, in a column pointing to the angular corner of the fence ready to support the militia on its right, or the infantry of the legion to its left. The appearance in this quarter was so favourable, that sanguine hopes were entertained by many of the officers, from the manifest advantage possessed, of breaking down the enemy's right before he approached the fence; and the troops exhibited great zeal and alacrity.

“Lieutenant colonel Webster took his part with his usual ability,—moving upon the Virginia militia, who were not so advantageously posted as their comrades of North Carolina, yet gave every indication of maintaining their ground with obstinacy. Stevens, to give efficacy to this temper, and stung with the recollection of their inglorious flight in the battle of Camden, had placed a line of sentinels in his rear with orders to shoot every man that flinched. When the enemy came within long shot, the American line, by order, began to fire. Undismayed, the British continued to advance; and having reached a proper distance, discharged their pieces and rent the air with shouts. To our infinite

distress and mortification, the North Carolina militia took to flight, a few only of Eaton's brigade excepted, who clung to the militia under Clarke; which, with the legion, manfully maintained their ground. Every effort was made by the generals Butler and Eaton, assisted by colonel Davie, commissary general, with many of the officers of every grade, to stop this unaccountable panic; for not a man of the corps had been killed, or even wounded. Lieutenant colonel Lee joined in the attempt to rally the fugitives, threatening to fall upon them with his cavalry. All was vain,—so thoroughly confounded were these unhappy men, that throwing away arms, knapsacks, and even canteens, they rushed like a torrent headlong through the woods. In the mean time the British right became so injured by the keen and advantageous contest still upheld by Clarke and the legion, as to render it necessary for Leslie to order into line his support under lieutenant colonel Norton, a decided proof of the difficult condition to which he must have been soon reduced, had the North Carolina militia done their duty. The chasm in our order of battle, produced by this base desertion, was extremely detrimental in its consequences; for being seized by Leslie, it threw the corps of Lee out of combination with the army, and also exposed it to destruction. General Leslie, turn-

ing the regiment of Bose, with the battalion of guards, upon Lee, pressed forward himself with the seventy-first to cover the right of Webster,—now keenly engaged with the Virginia militia; and seized the most advantageous position, which he preserved through the battle. Noble was the stand of the Virginia militia; Stevens and Lawson, with their faithful brigades, contending for victory against the best officer in the British army, at the head of two regiments, distinguished for intrepidity and discipline; and so firmly did they maintain the battle (secured on their flank by the position taken by Washington, who, anxious to contribute to the aid of his brave countrymen, introduced Lynch's battalion of riflemen upon the flank of Webster, already fully engaged in front) that brigadier O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of the guards were brought into the line in support of Webster. As soon as this assistance was felt, lieutenant colonel Webster, turning the thirty-third upon Lynch, relieved his flank of all annoyance; and instantly O'Hara, advancing with the remainder of the left wing with fixed bayonets, aided by the seventy-first under Leslie, compelled first Lawson's brigade and then Steven's to abandon the contest. Unhappily the latter general received a ball through his thigh, which accelerated not a little

the retreat of his brigade. The militia no longer presented even the show of resistance: nevertheless, such had been the resolution with which the corps under Lee, sustaining itself on the left against the first battalion of guards and the regiment of Bose, and so bravely did the Virginia militia support the action on the right, that, notwithstanding the injurious desertion of the first line without exchanging a shot, every corps of the British army, excepting the cavalry still in reserve, had been necessarily brought into battle, and many of them had suffered severely. It cannot be doubted, had the North Carolina militia rivalled that of Virginia upon this occasion, that lord Cornwallis must have been defeated; and even now the continental troops being in full vigor, and our cavalry unhurt, there was good ground yet to expect victory.

“ Persevering in his determination to die or to conquer, the British general did not stop to concentrate his force, but pressed forward to break our second line. The action, never intermitting on his right, was still sternly maintained by colonel Norton’s battalion of guards and the regiment of Bose with the rifle militia and the legion infantry; so that this portion of the British force could not be brought to bear upon the third line, supported by colonel Washington at the



head of the horse, and Kirkwood's Delaware company. General Greene was well pleased with the present prospect, and flattering himself with a happy conclusion, passed along the line, exhorting his troops to give the finishing blow. Webster, hastening over the ground occupied by the Virginia militia, sought with zeal the continental line, and presently approached its right wing. Here was posted the first regiment of Maryland, commanded by colonel Gunby, having under him lieutenant colonel Howard. The enemy rushed into close fire; but so firmly was he received by this body of veterans, supported by Hawes' regiment of Virginia and Kirkwood's company of Delawares, (being weakened in his contest with Steven's brigade, and as yet unsupported, the troops to his right not having advanced from inequality of ground or other impediments) that with equal rapidity he was compelled to recoil from the shock.

“Recrossing a ravine in his rear, Webster occupied an advantageous height, waiting for the approach of the rest of the line. Very soon lieutenant colonel Stuart, with the first battalion of guards, appeared in the open field, followed successively by the remaining corps, all anxious to unite in this last effort. Stuart, discovering Ford's regiment of Maryland on the left of the first regiment, and a small copse of woods con-

cealing Gunby, pushed forward upon Ford, who was strengthened by captain Finley with two six pounders. Colonel Williams, commanding the Maryland line, charmed with the late demeanor of the first regiment, hastened towards the second, expecting a similar display, and prepared to combine his whole force with all practicable celerity; when, unaccountably, the second regiment gave way, abandoning to the enemy the two field pieces.

“Gunby being left free by Webster’s recession, wheeled to his left upon Stuart, who was pursuing the flying second regiment. Here the action was well fought; each corps manfully struggling for victory; when lieutenant colonel Washington, who had, upon the discomfiture of the Virginia militia, placed himself upon the flank of the continentals, agreeably to the order of battle, pressed forward with his cavalry.

“Stuart beginning to give ground, Washington fell upon him sword in hand, followed by Howard with fixed bayonets, now commanding the regiment in consequence of Gunby being dismounted. This combined operation was irresistible. Stuart fell by the sword of captain Smith, of the first regiment; the two field pieces were recovered; his battalion driven back with slaughter,—its remains being saved by the British artillery, which, to stop the ardent pursuit of

Washington and Howard, opened upon friends as well as foes; for Cornwallis, seeing the vigorous advance of these two officers, determined to arrest their progress, though every ball, levelled at them, must pass through the flying guards. Checked by this cannonade, and discovering one regiment passing from the woods on the enemy's right, across the road, and another advancing in front, Howard believing himself to be out of support, retired, followed by Washington.

“To these two regiments, (which were the seventy-first, which general Leslie had so judiciously conducted after the ignominious flight of the North Carolina militia, and the twenty-third, the right of Webster,) brigadier O'Hara, though grievously wounded brought the remnant of the first battalion of guards, whom he in person rallied; and, with the grenadiers, filled up the interval between the left and right wing.

“Webster, the moment Stuart appeared in the field, putting Ford to flight, recrossed the ravine and attacked Hawes' regiment of Virginia, supported by Kirkwood's company. The action was renewed in this quarter with vigor; the seventy-first and twenty-third, connected in their centre by the first battalion and grenadier guards, having at the same time moved upon Howard. Meanwhile the long impending

contest upon the enemy's right continued without intermission, each of the combatants getting gradually nearer to the flanks of their respective armies, to close with which was the desired object of both. At length lieutenant colonel Norton, with his battalion of guards, believing the regiment of Bose adequate to the contest, and close to the great road to which he had been constantly inclining, pressed forward to join the seventy-first. Relieved from this portion of the enemy, lieutenant colonel Lee dispensed with his cavalry, heretofore held in the rear to cover retreat in case of disaster, ordering it to close with the left of the continental line, and there to act until it should receive further orders. Upon Bose the rifle and the legion infantry now turned with increased animation and with confidence of success. Lieutenant colonel Buisy, of the regiment of Bose, continued to defend himself with obstinacy; but pressed as he was by superior force, he at length gave ground, and fell back into the rear of Norton. Still annoying him with the rifle corps under Clarke, Lee hastened with his infantry, to rejoin his cavalry upon the flank of the continentals, the point so long and vainly contended for. In his route he found the battalion of guards under Norton in possession of the height first occupied by Lawson's brigade of Virginia militia. With

this corps again the legion infantry renewed action, and supported by the van company of the riflemen, its rear still waiting upon lieutenant colonel Buisy, drove it back upon the regiment of Bose. Every obstacle now removed, Lee pressed forward, followed by Clarke, and joined his horse close by Guildford court-house.

“Having seen the flight of the second regiment of Maryland, preceded by that of the North Carolina militia,—the corps of Lee severed from the army, and considering it, if not destroyed, at least thrown out of the action by Leslie’s judicious seizure of the interval produced by the panic of the North Carolina militia, and in all probability not able to regain its station in the line,—Greene, immutable in the resolution never to risk annihilation of his force, and adverted to his scanty supply of ammunition, determined, when he found all his personal efforts, seconded by colonels Williams and Carrington, to rally the second regiment of Maryland nugatory, to provide for retreat.

“Never did two generals exert themselves more than did these rival leaders upon this occasion. Long withheld from each other by the sagacious conduct of Greene, until he acquired sufficient strength to risk battle, they seized with ardor the opportunity at

length presented of an appeal to the sword. This decision was wise in both; and every step taken by the one and by the other, as well in preparation for battle, as in the battle, demonstrated superior abilities.

“Greene’s position was masterly, as was the ground selected for the combat peculiarly adapted to his views and troops. Cornwallis saw the difficulties thrown in his way by the skill of his antagonist, and diminished their weight by the disposition of his force as far as it was practicable. Having done all that was possible to accomplish their purpose, no attention was omitted, no peril avoided in the course of the action, to produce the desired issue. They exposed their persons, unconscious of danger, and self-devoted to national triumph. Upon one occasion Greene was nearly passed by a body of the enemy within thirty paces of him, when major Pendleton, one of his aids, discovered them. Luckily a copse of woods intervened, which covered Greene’s return to our line.

“Soon afterwards Cornwallis, seeing the discomfiture of one battalion of the guards, repaired in person to direct the measures for the recovery of the lost ground; when, by the dauntless exposure of himself, he was placed in extreme danger. It was upon

this occasion that he ordered his artillery to open through his flying guards to stop Washington and Howard. Brigadier O'Hara remonstrated, by exclaiming, that the fire would destroy themselves. "True," replied Cornwallis; "but this is a necessary evil, which we must endure to arrest impending destruction."

The numerical force of the two armies, on this occasion, was as two to one, the Americans consisting of four, the British, of two thousand rank and file. But, from the superiority, in the discipline and equipment of the latter, their real force might be considered equal.

In its effects on the enemy, this battle was murderous; nearly one third of them including many officers of distinction, being killed and wounded.

Colonel Webster, of the thirty-third (lord Cornwallis's own regiment), as gallant a soldier, and as accomplished an officer, as ever drew a sword, died of his wounds, lamented by the generous of both parties.

The loss sustained, by the Americans, was much less considerable, amounting, in killed and wounded, to about four hundred.

The result of this conflict, although technically a defeat, was virtually a victory, on the part of gene-

ral Greene. In his relation to his adversary, it placed him on higher ground, than he had previously occupied; enabling him, immediately afterwards, instead of the retreating, to become the pursuing party.

That his army was not materially shattered, either in strength or spirit, appeared from his conduct, soon after the action.

Not doubting that lord Cornwallis would follow him, he retreated slowly and in good order, from the field of battle, until attaining, at the distance of a few miles, an advantageous position, he again, drew up his forces, determined to renew the contest, on the arrival of the enemy.

But his lordship was in no condition to pursue: nor, brave and enterprising, as was his character, had he the slightest desire for another conflict. Having, by past experience, not to be forgotten, learnt that his adversary was an Ulysses in wisdom, he now perceived, that he was an Ajax in strength. Alike expert in every mode of warfare, and not to be vanquished, either by stratagem or force, he found him too formidable to be again approached.

Influenced by these sentiments, lord Cornwallis instead of pursuing his foe, or even maintaining his ground, commenced his retreat, leaving behind him



about seventy of his wounded, whom he recommended, in a letter, written by himself, to the humanity and attention of the American chief.

As a last effort to augment his forces, in that quarter, by embodying the royalists of the place, he proclaimed, in great pomp of style, the victory he had gained, and called on all loyal subjects, to assemble, in arms, and repair to his standard, in support of the government of their rightful sovereign.

But it was too late. The film had fallen from the eyes of the disaffected, and neither promise nor stratagem, could any longer delude them.

The cause of freedom was rising before them, with a force that could not be resisted, and a brightness that nothing could obscure. The American chief appeared invincible. Having dissipated, by his genius, the clouds of adversity that lately surrounded him, he was now in the midst of them, in all his splendour.

A few weeks since, they had seen him, at the head of a handful of troops, consulting his safety, in a rapid retreat. But, brief had been the triumph of the foe that pursued him. Gathering strength, like Antæus from his fall, he had suddenly returned, more vigorous and formidable, from the lap of misfortune. Although forced from the field, in the late engage-

ment, by adverse occurrences beyond his control, his genius had converted defeat into victory. In fact, the fortune of war was completely reversed; and the British was, now, the retreating party.

Under such circumstances, for lord Cornwallis to expect to fill up his devastated ranks, by the accession of tories, might well be denominated, the "hope of despair." As most of those individuals had adhered to the royal interest, only because they considered it the strongest, it was not to be looked for, that they would risk much in its favour, now that it was palpably and rapidly on the decline.

Had general Greene been in a condition to pursue his lordship, as soon as he commenced his retreat, the destruction of that officer and his army would have been inevitable. Some spot on the plains of Carolina would have witnessed the surrender, that was reserved for Virginia; and the hero of the south, would have worn the laurels, which, shortly afterwards, decorated the brow of the hero of the nation.

But Greene's military stores were so far expended, that he could not pursue, until he had received a supply. The delay thus occasioned, gave time to the British commander, to effect his escape. Colonel Lee, who was despatched in pursuit of him, with a corps of light troops, hung on his rear and embar-

rassed his march; but was too weak to make a serious impression on him, or, in any considerable degree, to retard his progress.

Having received his supplies, Greene immediately pursued the enemy, leaving behind him, all the wounded of the British army, that had fallen into his possession, and such of his own as were unfit to be removed.

The more certainly to secure to these unfortunate soldiers, every accommodation and comfort that the country could afford, he recommended them to the humanity and attention of the inhabitants of New-Garden, a large and wealthy settlement in the neighbourhood, composed almost entirely, of an extensive congregation of the society of Friends.

In his letter, on this occasion, he observed, that he himself had been bred a member of that society, and still admired the excellence of their habits, and held in high estimation, the principles of piety and practical virtue, by which they were governed.

That he knew well their abhorrence of war, and their determination, not to be concerned, in any thing connected with the profession of arms. Nor did he ask of them a departure from this resolution. He only solicited, in behalf of a few unfortunate men, who had suffered, in the late action, those kind offices,

in the performance of which, he was sensible they delighted. That, in bestowing these, they could not be said to take any part in the existing contest, in as much as the subjects of them, belonged alike to both armies.

He requested of them, therefore, nothing, but the exercise of that general beneficence, which he believed to be dictated by their own hearts, no less than by the excellent religion they professed.

In consequence of this warm and benevolent appeal, the disabled soldiers received from those to whom it was addressed, every thing they could do, to sooth their sufferings, and heal their wounds.

The eagerness of Greene's pursuit, and his earnest desire to bring the enemy to battle, are evinced by the following letter to colonel Lee.

Headquarters, 11 o'clock, March 21st, 1781.

Lieutenant colonel Lee,

DEAR SIR,

Your letter dated at New Garden, yesterday, has this moment come to hand. Our army marched yesterday, in the direct route for Magee's Ordinary, near the head waters of Rocky river, which will be twelve miles from Bell's mills. We expect to get about two or three miles beyond Passley to night. We have got provisions to draw, cartridges to make, and several

other matters to attend to, which will oblige us to halt a little earlier than common.

I beg you will try to forward me the best intelligence you can get of the enemy's situation this morning, and whether they move or not.

I mean to fight the enemy again, and wish you to have your legion and riflemen ready for action on the shortest notice. If, in the mean time, you can attempt any thing which promises an advantage, put it in execution. Lord Cornwallis must be soundly beaten, before he will relinquish his hold.

I am, dear sir, &c.

NATHANIEL GREENE.

But the advanced position of lord Cornwallis, the impracticable condition of the roads, and the difficulty of procuring regular supplies of provision, the country being already exhausted by hostile depredations, frustrated every exertion that general Greene could make, to compel the enemy to a second engagement.

Convinced that his efforts, abortive as to the object of his toils and wishes, would only exhaust his own strength, he halted at Ramsay's mill, on the waters of Deep river, to indulge his troops in that refreshment and repose, which they so much needed.

Secure, now, from danger, lord Cornwallis pur-

sued his route, by easy marches, to Wilmington, still endeavouring to call to his standard, the royalists of the country through which he passed. But his labour was unavailing. The impression made on that class of inhabitants, by the genius of Greene, and the arms of his troops, was too deep and lasting to be effaced or counteracted, by the artful policy of the British chief, or the imposing appearance of his veteran army.

During this pause from action, the first, which, for several months, the American commander had permitted himself to enjoy, his mind must have been strenuously employed, no less in a retrospect of the past, than in arrangements for the future.

These two sources of contemplation, opposite to each other, in the direction of time, were, no doubt, productive of opposite emotions.

In the former, signalized by a series of illustrious labours and successful operations, nothing could arise to the view of Greene, but objects of unmingled gratification and triumph.

But the latter, hung with clouds, and covered with uncertainty, although not unillumined by the brightness of hope, was checkered with topics of gloomy apprehension.

When first he assumed the command of the south, he found the state of North Carolina in a condition extremely critical and alarming.

In consequence of the recent defeat of general Gates, the most resolute among the friends of freedom, were beginning to despond; the timid were ready to surrender and claim protection, on the approach of the victors; and the disaffected, bold in their opposition, and confident of success, were flocking to the British standard, although at a distance.

But the state of things, now, was completely reversed. Intimidated by the masterly operations of Greene, and even afraid to avow their sentiments, the tories refused to join the royal standard, although erected at their doors; in most of the faint hearted and wavering whigs, confidence had succeeded to coldness and timidity; while the more steadfast and daring were sanguine, in their hopes, and vigorous, in their exertions.

The American troops, which general Greene had found humiliated, self-degraded, and morally weak, in consequence of defeat, felt themselves, now, a match for the enemy, and were anxious to meet him in the shock of arms.

The British army, which had been arrayed in his front, in overwhelming force, menacing North Caro-

lina, with certain subjugation, and which had fiercely pursued him, from one extreme of the state to the other, inferior, now, to himself, in strength, could escape annihilation only by flight.

Such was the proud and exhilarating view, which a retrospect of his own achievements, for a few months past, presented to the mind of the American commander.

Were we requested to indicate the period in the life of general Greene, most strongly marked by the operations, and irradiated by the genius, of a great commander, we would, without hesitation, select that, which extends from the commencement of his retreat, before lord Cornwallis, from the left bank of the Catawba, to the termination of his pursuit of him, at Ramsay's mill. Perhaps a brighter era does not adorn the military career of any leader. It was in the course of *it* that he turned the current of adverse fortune, which he afterwards directed, with such certain aim, and irresistible force, as to sweep the enemy from his numerous strongholds, in the southern department, and contribute so preeminently, to the speedy and felicitous issue of the war.

That he laid, during this period, a solid foundation, for the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, has never been doubted. By completely separating



the British forces, he rendered them, comparatively, an easy conquest: for, lord Cornwallis, had he attempted it, could not have returned to his friends in the south.

Nor is it less obvious to a careful observer, that his operations against the enemy, between the Yadkin and the Dan, had a material influence on the success of those, which afterwards occurred in the state of Virginia.

We do not concur in the opinion, maintained by some, that he actually drove lord Cornwallis into the toils, which were closed on him, at York-Town, by the hand of Washington. But we do believe, that he in no small degree facilitated his capture.

He not only, by hovering around him with his light troops, cut off his forces, in detail, and thinned his ranks, in a sanguinary conflict; but, crushing the spirit, and paralysing, by terror, the exertions of the Tories, prevented him from augmenting, by recruits, his diminished army. Thus, was his lordship compelled to move towards the north, and strengthen his command, by uniting with the British forces in that quarter.

Had it not been for this, lord Cornwallis, assembling around him, thousands of the hardy and intrepid inhabitants of North Carolina, and amalgamating

them, by discipline, with his veteran troops, would have led into Virginia, an army not to be conquered, without a long and sanguinary struggle, even by the valour and wisdom of Washington.

The agency of Greene, then, in the capture at York Town, cannot be denied.

Having abandoned the pursuit of the British army, the general found himself again encircled with difficulties. Of these, the greatest appears to have been experienced, in his endeavours to institute a scheme of operations, best suited to the existing conjuncture, and calculated, beyond any other, to insure a favourable termination of the war in the south.

Of the southern department of the Union, over which Greene's command extended, the enemy was in force, in three large and important sections. Georgia and South Carolina were entirely in their possession; lord Cornwallis had taken post, in the maritime district of North Carolina; and part of Virginia was occupied by a powerful detachment of British troops, under the command of general Philips.

At a loss to determine, on which of these points he should act, in person, he consulted his officers, and found them greatly divided in opinion.

Some advised him, after giving sufficient repose to his troops, and receiving further reinforcements and

supplies, to advance on lord Cornwallis, as being best qualified to cope with that officer; others to hasten to the relief of Virginia, which they correctly denominated the "stronghold of the south;" while colonel Lee proposed, that, leaving his lordship, whose object was evidently the invasion of Virginia, to be met by the energies of that powerful state, with such assistance as might arrive from the north, he should penetrate South Carolina, his army divided into two columns, attack and beat the enemy, at their different posts, without permitting them to concentrate their forces; and thus recover that rich and important member of the Union.

This proposal, pointing to a plan of operations, magnificent, bold, and, apparently, feasible, best comported with the character of general Greene, and embraced the very movements, which he himself had been meditating.

He, therefore, resolved on its adoption; and, without further delay, commenced his arrangements for its vigorous execution. The wisdom of this measure soon appeared, not only in the fall of some of the enemy's posts, but in the general consternation with which it affected him.

An officer, who had distinguished himself in the late action, not satisfied with the proposed plan of

operations, asked general Greene, by way of remonstrance, "what will you do, sir, in case lord Cornwallis throws himself into your rear, and cuts off your communication with the state of Virginia?"

"I will punish his temerity," replied the general, with great pleasantness, "by ordering you to charge him, as you did in the battle of Guilford. But, never fear, sir; his lordship has too much good sense, ever again to risk his safety, so far from the seabord. He has just escaped ruin and he knows it; and I am greatly mistaken, in his character, as an officer, if he has not the capacity to profit by experience."

Such was the soundness of Greene's judgment; and the happy method, by which he attached his officers to his person.

## CHAPTER IX.

The condition of South Carolina and Georgia—amount of Greene's army—too small to attempt a war of general actions—Greene determines to strike the enemy in detail—conscious of the perils before him—resolves to encounter them—his sentiments on the occasion—detaches Lee's legion, to join Marion—marches, with the main body, against lord Rawdon, posted at Camden—disappointed, and injured in his operations, by not meeting Sumpter, in the neighbourhood of Camden—lord Cornwallis confounded by Greene's movement—the latter takes post, in front of Camden—British garrisons fall, in succession—capture of fort Motte—Greene derives, from the captured posts, arms, provisions, and military stores—battle of Hobkirk's Hill—description of—subsequent movements of general Greene and lord Rawdon—successes of Lee and Marion—lord Rawdon retreats towards Charleston,—his communication with his posts cut off—Lee advances on the British garrison, at Augusta—Greene invests Ninety-Six—after much gallantry and skill, in attack and defence, Augusta falls—Greene fails in an attack on Ninety-Six—account of—on the advance of lord Rawdon, now reinforced, Greene retreats, and the other pursues—Greene's noble resolution—pursuit ceases—Ninety-Six evacuated—lord Rawdon now retreats, and Greene pursues—the enemy having escaped him, he retires to the high hills of Santee, to give repose to his army, during the summer heats.

WITH the exception of the districts, occupied by Marion, Sumpter, and Davie, who, with spirits invincible, still continued their partisan warfare, the two southern states, as already mentioned, were in full and quiet possession of the enemy. The range of the first of these officers, was in the north-eastern, that of the second, in the north-western, section of South

Carolina, and that of the third, along its northern frontier.

Lord Rawdon, who was now commander in chief of the British forces, in the South, held his headquarters in the village of Camden. With this position and that of Charleston, the various parts of the conquered territory were connected by chains of military posts, the strongest and most important of which, were those of Ninety-six, and Augusta.

Besides maintaining the communication between the different portions of the states, and holding in check the spirit of resistance, among the friends of Independence, these posts served as places of deposit for arms, provisions, and military stores, for such of the tories, as might be induced to join the royal standard. Add to the foregoing, that the depredations committed by the British, the royalists, and, in some instances, by parties of retaliating whigs, had so far diminished the means of the country, as wholly to disqualify it for supporting an army. Such, in the spring of 1781, was the condition of South Carolina and Georgia.

To break down this extensive and formidable establishment, containing a force of four thousand troops, general Greene, exclusive of the small bodies of militia, under the command of Marion, Sumpter,

and Davie, had not more than eighteen hundred; and was entirely unprovided with magazines and stores. Nor, owing to an alarming invasion of the state of Virginia, had he any reason to expect supplies or reinforcements from the North.

But, although fully sensible of the difficulties and personal dangers that awaited him, and of the highly critical and perilous cast, on which he was about to stake his reputation, yet, convinced that the public interest required him to encounter the risk, and submit to the toils and privations that presented themselves, he had determined on the enterprise, and nothing could shake the firmness of his resolution. His views and determination on the subject, are depicted in the following extract of a letter, written, on the occasion, to general Washington.

“I shall take every measure, to avoid misfortune. But necessity obliges me to commit myself to chance, and if any accident should attend me, I trust my friends will do justice to my reputation.”

Unable to meet his adversary, in full force, yet, by the pressure of the crisis, imperiously urged to advance and attack him, Greene resolved on the policy of striking his posts, and endeavouring, thus, to conquer him in detail. The wisdom of this plan, and

the ability, with which it was executed, are amply attested by subsequent occurrences.

On the seventh of April, that great commander broke up his encampment at Ramsay's mill, and, with the main column of his army, moving to the south, took position in front of Camden, on the nineteenth. From that period, with but a few reverses, his career proved rapid, successful, and brilliant, beyond any thing that the war of the revolution presented. Post after post was evacuated, or fell before him, in quick succession, until, on the eight of September, he achieved the memorable victory of the Eutaw springs, which drove the enemy from the other parts of the state, to shelter and defend themselves within the lines of Charleston.

Thus, in less than five months after entering South Carolina, he became master of every part of it, except the capital, and its immediate vicinity. To procure provisions and forage, marauding parties of the enemy ventured occasionally without their lines. But even these, were almost uniformly attacked and put to flight; in several instances, with considerable loss.

By the unparalleled success of this war of posts, the American leader was doubly benefited. He weakened his adversary, by the prisoners he made; and strengthened himself, by constant accessions to his



scanty stock of ammunition and stores. This was one mode, in which he *created* his own resources, compelling the enemy to furnish him with materials for the subsistence of his troops, and their own annoyance. By no other plan could he possibly have maintained himself in South Carolina. All the surplus produce of the soil was collected within the British garrisons; and, from the distant state of Virginia, laboriously engaged, as already represented, in defending herself, he could not have received a sufficiency of provisions and military means, for the use of his army. But when these garrisons fell, their stores and magazines became the property of the victor. He had not only, therefore, the valour and skill, to vanquish his enemy; but the address to make him pay the price of his own overthrow.

This was, literally, visiting the British with the trouble, burthen, and miseries of the war. In no other instance, during our revolutionary struggle, did any general officer, with the same number of troops, subsist so long, and achieve so much, at so inconsiderable a loss and expense to the country. It is believed, that the reconquest of the state of South Carolina and Georgia, cost the nation less, than the single expedition which terminated in the disaster of Gates' defeat.

While the state of Virginia, under the direction of its own government and of congress, was supporting the army of lord Cornwallis, the state of South Carolina, considered, for a long time, under royal government, was compelled to support the army of Greene.

This brilliant train of successes, so far beyond what his force and equipment seemed to promise, procured for him, from the chevalier Luzerne, knight of Malta, and minister plenipotentiary, from Louis XVI, near the United States, a compliment as lofty, as was ever paid to the commander of an army.

“ Other generals, said the chevalier, to a gentleman of high standing, who now resides in the city of Philadelphia, subdue their enemy by the means with which their country, or their sovereign furnishes them. But general Greene appears to subdue his enemy by his own means. He commenced his campaign, without either an army, provisions, or military stores. He has asked for nothing since, and yet scarcely a post arrives from the South, that does not bring intelligence of some new advantage he has gained over the foe. He conquers, by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this.” Napoleon, when he invaded Italy, did not create his own means to a greater

extent, than Greene did, when he carried his arms into South Carolina.

When that officer, leading in person the main column of his army, moved from Ramsay's mill, his object, as already stated, was Camden, the headquarters of lord Rawdon.

On the preceding day, he had despatched colonel Lee, at the head of a column, composed of his own legion and a small corps of infantry, to penetrate South Carolina, nearer to the sea-board; there to join Marion, attack the most accessible of the British posts, and act, generally, as the good of the service might seem to require.

His purpose, in this movement, was, to weaken the garrison of Camden, by effecting a diversion towards the seat of operations, in the maritime district, by Lee and Marion.

The wisdom of this measure was sufficiently demonstrated, by the panic, with which it struck the enemy, and by the fall, successively, and within a short period, of the forts Watson, Motte, Ganby, Orangeburgh, and Georgetown.

In the operations of the Americans, against fort Motte, there occurred a circumstance, so interesting in itself, and so honourable to the character of a high minded lady, that we shall offer no apology to

the reader, for presenting him with a narrative of it, in the words of general Lee, who commanded, on the occasion, the beseiging party.

“ This post (fort Motte) was the principal depot of the convoys from Charleston to Camden, and sometimes of those destined for fort Granby and Ninety-Six. A large new mansion house, belonging to Mrs. Motte, situated on a high and commanding hill, had been selected for this establishment. It was surrounded with a deep trench, along the interior margin of which was raised a strong and lofty parapet. To this post had been regularly assigned an adequate garrison of about one hundred and fifty men, which was now accidentally increased by a small detachment of dragoons,—which had arrived from Charleston, a few hours before the appearance of the American troops, on its way to Camden with despatches for lord Rawdon. Captain M'Pherson commanded, an officer highly and deservedly respected.

“ Opposite to fort Motte, to the north, stood another hill, where Mrs. Motte, having been dismissed from her mansion, resided, in the old farmhouse. On this height lieutenant colonel Lee with his corps took post, while brigadier Marion occupied the eastern declivity of the ridge on which the fort stood.

“Very soon the fort was completely invested; and the six pounder was mounted on a battery erected in Marion’s quarter for the purpose of raking the northern face of the enemy’s parapet, against which Lee was preparing to advance. M’Pherson was unprovided with artillery, and depended for safety upon timely relief, not doubting its arrival before the assailant could push his preparations to maturity.

“The vale which runs between the two hills admitted our safe approach within four hundred yards of the fort. This place was selected by Lee to break ground. Relays of working parties being provided for every four hours, and some of the negroes from the neighbouring plantations being brought, by the influence of Marion, to our assistance, the works advanced with rapidity. Such was their forwardness on the 10th, that it was determined to summon the commandant.

“A flag was accordingly despatched to captain M’Pherson, stating to him with truth our relative situation, expressing with decision the fate which awaited him, and admonishing him to avoid the disagreeable consequences of an arrogant temerity. To this the captain replied, that, disregarding consequences, he should continue to resist to the last moment in his power. The retreat of Rawdon was known in

the evening to the beseigers; and in the course of the night a courier arrived from general Greene confirming that event, urging redoubled activity, and communicating his determination to hasten to their support. Urged by these strong considerations, Marion and Lee persevered throughout the night in pressing the completion of their works. On the next day, Rawdon reached the country opposite to fort Motte; and in the succeeding night encamping on the highest ground in his route, the illumination of his fires gave the joyful annunciation of his approach to the despairing garrison. But the hour was close at hand, when this fallacious joy was to be converted into sadness.

“The large mansion in the centre of the encircling trench, left but a few yards of the ground within the enemy’s works uncovered: burning the house must force their surrender.

“Persuaded that our ditch would be within arrow shot before noon of the next day, Marion and Lee determined to adopt this speedy mode of effecting their object. Orders were instantly issued to prepare bows and arrows, with missive combustible matter. This measure was reluctantly adopted; for the destruction of private property was repugnant to the principles which swayed the two commandants, and

upon this occasion was peculiarly distressing. The devoted house was a large pleasant edifice, intended for the summer residence of the respectable owner, whose deceased husband had been a firm friend to his oppressed country, and whose only marriageable daughter was the wife of major Pinckney, an officer in the South Carolina line, who had fought and bled in his country's cause, and was now a prisoner with the enemy. These considerations powerfully forbade the execution of the proposed measure; but there were others of much cogency, which applied personally to lieutenant colonel Lee, and gave a new edge to the bitterness of the scene.

“Encamping contiguous to Mrs. Motte's dwelling, this officer had, upon his arrival, been requested in the most pressing terms to make her house his quarters. The invitation was accordingly accepted; and not only the lieutenant colonel, but every officer of his corps, off duty, daily experienced her liberal hospitality, politely proffered and as politely administered. Nor was the attention of this amiable lady confined to that class of war which never fail to attract attention. While her richly spread table presented with taste and fashion all the luxuries of her opulent country, and her sideboard offered without reserve

the best wines of Europe,—antiquated relics of happier days,—her active benevolence found its way to the sick and to the wounded; cherishing with softest kindness infirmity and misfortune, converting despair into hope, and nursing debility into strength. Nevertheless the imperative obligations of duty must be obeyed; the house must burn; and a respectful communication to the lady of her destined loss must be made. Taking the first opportunity which offered, the next morning, lieutenant colonel Lee imparted to Mrs. Motte the intended measure; lamenting the sad necessity, and assuring her of the deep regret which the unavoidable act excited in his and every breast.

“With a smile of complacency, this exemplary lady listened to the embarrassed officer, and gave instant relief to his agitated feelings, by declaring, that she was gratified with the opportunity of contributing to the good of her country, and that she should view the approaching scene with delight. Shortly after, seeing accidentally the bow and arrows which had been prepared, she sent for the lieutenant colonel, and presenting him with a bow and its apparatus imported from India, she requested his substitution of these, as probably better adapted for the object than those we had provided.



“Receiving with silent delight this opportune present, the lieutenant colonel rejoined his troops, now making ready for the concluding scene. The lines were manned, and an additional force stationed at the battery, lest the enemy, perceiving his fate, might determine to risk a desperate assault, as offering the only chance of relief. As soon as the troops reached their several points, a flag was again sent to M<sup>c</sup>Pherson, for the purpose of inducing him to prevent the conflagration and the slaughter which might ensue, by a second representation of his actual condition.

“Doctor Irwin, of the legion cavalry, was charged with the flag, and instructed to communicate faithfully the inevitable destruction impending, and the impracticability of relief, as Lord Rawdon had not yet passed the Santee; with an assurance that longer perseverance in vain resistance, would place the garrison at the mercy of the conqueror; who was not regardless of the policy of preventing the waste of time, by inflicting exemplary punishment, where resistance was maintained only to produce such waste. The British captain received the flag with his usual politeness, and heard patiently Irwin’s explanations; but he remained immovable; repeating his determination of holding out to the last.

“It was now about noon, and the rays of the scorching sun had prepared the shingle roof for the projected conflagration. The return of Irwin was immediately followed by the application of the bow and arrows. The first arrow struck, and communicated its fire; a second was shot at another quarter of the roof, and a third at a third quarter; this last also took effect, and, like the first, soon kindled a blaze. M’Pherson ordered a party to repair to the loft of the house, and by knocking off the shingles to stop the flames. This was soon perceived, and captain Finley was directed to open his battery, raking the loft from end to end.

“The fire of our six pounder, posted close to one of the gable ends of the house, soon drove the soldiers down; and no other effort to stop the flames being practicable, M’Pherson hung out the white flag. Mercy was extended, although policy commanded, death, and the obstinacy of M’Pherson warranted it. The commandant, with the regulars, of which the garrison was chiefly composed, were taken possession of by Lee; while the loyalists were delivered to Marion. Among the latter was a Mr. Smith, who had been charged with burning the houses of his neighbours friendly to their country. This man consequently became very obnoxious, and his punishment was loud-

ly demanded by many of the militia serving under the brigadier; but the humanity of Marion could not be overcome. Smith was secured from his surrounding enemies, ready to devote him, and taken under the general's protection.

“M<sup>c</sup>Pherson was charged with having subjected himself to punishment, by his idle waste of his antagonists' time; and reminded as well of the opportunities which had been presented to him of saving himself and garrison from unconditional submission, as of the cogent considerations, growing out of the posture of affairs, which urged the prevention of future useless resistance by present exemplary punishment. The British officer frankly acknowledged his dependent situation, and declared his readiness to meet any consequence which the discharge of duty, conformably to his own conviction of right, might produce. Powerfully as the present occasion called for punishment, and rightfully as it might have been inflicted, not a drop of blood was shed, nor any part of the enemy's baggage taken. M<sup>c</sup>Pherson and his officers accompanied their captors to Mrs. Motte's, and partook with them in a sumptuous dinner; soothing in the sweets of social intercourse the ire which the preceding conflict had engendered.”

If the excellence of military combinations generally, is to be estimated by the uneasiness and embarrassment, with which they affect an enemy, the whole of general Greene's plan of operations, in South Carolina, has in its favour, that testimony, in a very high degree.

No sooner was lord Cornwallis, then near Wilmington, informed of his late adversary's march towards the south, than his perplexity became extreme. The boldness of the movement struck him with astonishment, while its novelty and unexpectedness, baffled his calculations, and unsettled his schemes. That an immediate blow on Camden was meditated, he could not doubt; and, from his knowledge of the enemy, he conceived that post to be in imminent danger.

His first view was, to follow Greene, and, placing him between lord Rawdon and himself, punish his audacity. But, on the propriety of this measure he could not determine, until the American commander had proceeded too far to be overtaken in time for co-operation with the detachment in Camden.

Not doubting, therefore, that lord Rawdon must be either victorious or defeated, before he could advance to his assistance, and, that in the latter event, he himself would be seriously endangered, lord Corn-

wallis abandoned the scheme of returning to South Carolina, and directed his course towards the state of Virginia.

Greene, on his arrival near Camden, had the misfortune to experience a disappointment, mortifying in itself, and exceedingly injurious to his meditated operations.

On commencing his march towards the British head quarters, he had sent, by express, an order to general Sumpter, to meet him, with his command, in the vicinity of that post. But, for reasons which were never satisfactorily rendered, that officer, instead of complying, had moved towards Ninety-six.

In consequence of this act of insubordination, the commanding general, on reaching the post, which he had selected as the object of his first adventure, found himself too weak completely to invest it. With the aid of Sumpter, his force would have been sufficient; and, in that case, the escape of the British garrison would have been scarcely possible. But the capture, or even the discomfiture of lord Rawdon, would, without much further contention or bloodshed, have restored to the Union, the state of South Carolina. So much does the result of military operations, depend on obedience and concert in action.

In the present case, the scheme of the American commander appears to have been perfect, in all its combinations. As far, then, as genius was concerned, there was nothing wanting. The only deficiency was in the means of execution.

Not prepared to invest Camden, Greene took post before it, on Hobkirk's hill, a strong position, about three miles distant from the British lines. Even here, he did not doubt, that by intercepting his supplies, and threatening an assault, on the arrival of reinforcements, he would compel the British commander to evacuate Camden, or offer battle, without his works. In either case, he had reason to flatter himself, that his first object would be accomplished, and an auspicious step towards the reconquest of the state effected; for, he felt that he was superior to his adversary in a field engagement.

In his opinion, as to the effect the position he now occupied would produce on lord Rawdon, he was not mistaken. So critical and perilous did the situation of that officer very soon become, that he felt himself compelled to abandon his position, or attack general Greene, in his stronghold, even without waiting the arrival of colonel Watson, who, with a considerable detachment of British regulars, was hastening to join him.

The assault was made, by the British commander, on the 25th of April, six days after general Greene appeared before Camden. Technically speaking, it did not amount to a surprise, yet it must be acknowledged, that on no other occasion, was the American leader so near being found by the enemy, in an unprepared condition, when it was his duty to be on the alert, and ready for action. The strength and obstinate resistance of his picquets, however, which somewhat retarded lord Rawdon's advance, with his own promptness and presence of mind, enabled him to form his line of battle, and receive his lordship in excellent order.

From general Lee's "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department," we extract the following account of this conflict.

"The position of Greene was on a ridge covered with uninterrupted wood, the Waxhaw's road running directly through it; his army resting with its left upon the swamp of Pine-tree creek, where the ridge or eminence was easiest of ascent, and extending on the right to woods uncovered by water courses or any other obstructions. In this quarter the American position was easiest assailed, but the probability of an undiscovered approach was not so encouraging. Therefore did Rawdon prefer the route to our left;

inasmuch as an unexpected assault upon our camp was a leading feature in his plan.

“In the morning Carrington joined, with a comfortable supply of provisions, which had been rather scarce during the late hurried changes of position. These were issued, and of course engaged a portion of the troops; while the residue were employed along the rivulets in washing their clothes, an occupation which had been for some days past impracticable.

“We being absorbed in these employments, the period was very propitious to the enemy’s object. His advance was never discovered until his van fell upon our picquets. The two in front, commanded by captain Benson of Maryland and captain Morgan of Virginia, received him handsomely; and, retiring in order, disputed bravely every inch of ground, supported by Kirkwood with the remains of the Delaware regiment. This rencontre gave the first announcement of the contest at hand. Disposed, as has been before observed, for battle by the order of encampment, the American army, notwithstanding its short notice, was quickly ranged for action,—an event, although unexpected, of all others the most desirable; because, in all probability, the readiest to the production of that issue so anxiously coveted by the American general.



“During the contest with the picquets Greene formed his army. The Virginia brigade with general Huger at its head, having under him the lieutenant colonels Campbell and Hawes, took the right; the Maryland brigade, led by colonel Williams, seconded by colonel Gunby and the lieutenant colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left. Thus all the continentals, consisting of four regiments, much reduced in strength, were disposed in one line, with the artillery, conducted by colonel Harrison, in the centre. The reserve consisted of the cavalry, under lieutenant colonel Washington, with a corps of North Carolina militia, about two hundred and fifty, commanded by colonel Reade.

“The British general, pushing before him the picquets and Kirkwood, pressed forward to battle. The king’s American regiment on the right, the New York volunteers in the centre, and the sixty-third on the left, formed the line of battle. His right wing was supported by Robertson’s corps, and his left by the volunteers of Ireland. The reserve consisted of the South Carolina regiment, with a few dragoons, all the cavalry then at Camden.

“Greene, examining attentively the British disposition, discovered the very narrow front which it presented; and, gratified as he was with the opportunity,

so unexpectedly offered, of completing, by one blow, his first object, he determined to avail himself of the advantage given by the mode of attack.

“He directed the lieutenant colonels Campbell and Ford to turn the enemy’s flanks; he ordered the centre regiments to advance with fixed bayonets upon him ascending the height; and detached lieutenant colonel Washington with his cavalry to gain his rear. Rawdon no sooner cast his eyes on our disposition, than he perceived the danger to which his unequal front exposed him, and, bringing up the volunteers of Ireland into line, he remedied the defect seized by Greene in time to avert the expected consequence.

“The battle opened from right to left with a vigour which promised a keen and sanguinary contest; but the superiority of our fire, augmented by that from our well served artillery, must have borne down all opposition, had the American line maintained itself with becoming firmness. On the right Huger evidently gained ground; Washington was carrying every thing before him in the rear; and lieutenant colonel Hawes, with fixed bayonets, conformable to order, was descending the hill ready to fall upon the New York volunteers.

“In this flattering moment the veteran regiment of Gunby, having first joined in the fire, in violation of

orders, paused, its right falling back. Gunby unfortunately directed the disordered battalion to rally by retiring to its right company. Retrograde being the consequence of this order, the British line, giving a shout, pressed forward with redoubled ardor; and the regiment of Gunby, considered as the bulwark of the army, never recovered from the panic with which it was unaccountably seized. The Virginia brigade, and the second regiment of Maryland, with the artillery, notwithstanding the shameful abandonment by the first Maryland, maintained the contest bravely. Williams with Gunby, assisted by lieutenant colonel Howard, who had so often and so gloriously borne down with this very regiment all opposition, vainly exerted themselves to bring it to order. Not the menaces of the one, not the expostulations of the other, not the exhortations of the third, nor the recollection of its pristine fame, could arouse its cowering spirit.

“ The second Maryland, which had from the commencement of the action acted with gallantry, feeling severely the effect produced by the recession of the first, became somewhat deranged; and lieutenant colonel Ford being unluckily wounded, while endeavouring to repress the beginning disorder, this corps also fell back. Rawdon’s right now gained the sum-

mit of the eminence, flanking Hawes' regiment, which had undeviatingly held its prescribed course, although early in the action abandoned on its left by the first Maryland, and now but feebly sustained on its right by the first Virginia,—for this corps had now begun to recede, notwithstanding its preceding success. Greene recalled Hawes, our only unbroken regiment; and, finding every effort to reinstate the battle illusory, conscious that his reserve was not calculated to face the veteran foe, wisely determined to diminish the ills of the sad and unaccountable reverse, by retiring from the field. Orders were given to this effect, and lieutenant colonel Hawes was commanded to cover the broken line.

“The retreat was performed without loss, although the enemy continued to pursue for a few miles. Washington with his cavalry retiring from the rear the moment he discovered that our infantry had been forced, came in time to contribute greatly to the safety of the army, having necessarily relinquished most of the fruits of his success. Checking the enemy's efforts to disturb our rear, he at length, by a rapid charge, effectually discomfitted the British van, and put a stop to further pursuit. General Greene having passed Saunders' creek, about four miles from the field of

battle, encamped for the night, and on the next day proceeded to Rudgely's mill.

“The loss sustained by the respective armies was nearly equal. On the side of America two hundred and sixty-eight were killed, wounded, and missing: on the side of the enemy two hundred and fifty-eight, including the prisoners brought off by lieutenant colonel Washington, and those paroled by him on the ground. The British lost no officer of distinction, which was not the case with us. The wound of lieutenant colonel Ford proved mortal, and captain Beatty, of the first Maryland, was killed, than whom the army did not possess an officer of more promise.”

The same writer, who handled, his pen and his sword, with equal dexterity, has given us, in his comments on this action, a paragraph, replete with instruction to military leaders.

“Relinquishing an investigation which does not promise a satisfactory solution, I cannot but observe that the battle of Hobkicks adds to the many evidences with which military history abounds of the deranging effects of unlimited confidence. It is the only instance in Greene's command, where this general implicitly yielded to its delusive counsel, and he suffered deeply in consequence of it; for had he for a moment doubted the certainty of success, the ca-

valry would not have been detached in the rear until the issue of the battle had begun to unfold."

The battle just described, was happily productive of one of those acts of reciprocal courtesy, between the rival leaders, which tend so much to soften the features, and diminish the evils of modern war.

By a bold and impetuous charge of his cavalry, colonel Washington turned the British right; passed into their rear, threw them, for a time, into great confusion, and made about two hundred prisoners. Among these were eleven surgeons, whom he found engaged in their official duties.

Knowing that these officers would be much wanted in the garrison, on account of the numbers that had been wounded in the action, general Greene liberated, and permitted them to return to Camden, without a moment's detention.

In consequence of this humane and generous act, lord Rawdon ordered, immediately, an equal number of American surgeons, who had been captured when Charleston fell, to be released from confinement, and suffered to return to the service of their country.

Extending his courtesy still further, he furnished them with an escort, to conduct them in safety to an American post.

In this engagement, his lordship gained nothing but the mere possession of the ground, on which it was fought.

Greene had, indeed, sustained a repulse; but his spirit remained the same, his plan of action neither broken nor deranged, and his vigilance and energy were increased by misfortune. Sternly maintaining his ground, in the neighbourhood of Camden, he confined the enemy within his lines; and, by thus intercepting his communication with the country, deprived him of the requisite supplies of provision.

Afraid to approach his adversary again, and his means of subsistence rapidly declining, lord Rawdon was reduced, in a short time, to a very perilous extreme. At length, by the arrival of colonel Watson, who had been held in check, and impeded in his movement, by Lee and Marion, his command was so far strengthened, as to justify him, a second time, in offering battle.

This, for reasons that were perfectly solid, general Greene thought proper to decline; and he had too much policy and address, to be forced into action contrary to his inclination.

After a few days manœuvring, with a view to gain advantage, in which lord Rawdon became sensible of his great inferiority, he gave up the contest.

and, returning to Camden, prepared for the abandonment of that post.

To this step he was induced by perceiving, that the approaching and inevitable fall of the minor posts, between him and Charleston, would prove certainly ruinous to him, by cutting off his communication with that sea-port, and resuscitating the spirit of resistance among the whigs of the country.

To secure the safety of the troops stationed in Ninety-six, Augusta, and some other places, he despatched orders for the evacuation of those garrisons without delay.

But, in this he was frustrated, by the vigilance of Greene. So completely had that officer broken every line of communication, between him and his distant establishments, that all his expresses were intercepted and made prisoners.

Encouraged by what he had already performed, and animated by the prospect of further successes, the American leader detached colonel Lee and general Pickens, in command of the light troops, to act against Augusta, while he himself, with the main column of his army, advanced on Ninety-six, and invested that fortress on the 22d of May. On the preceding day, the investment of Augusta had also been effected.



To detail the particulars of these two active and important sieges, would be inadmissibly tedious; although not irrelevant to the object of this work.

That of Augusta lasted about fifteen days; and, after many splendid instances of valour and policy, both in attack and defence, terminated favourably to the American arms. A minute and most interesting account of it is given by general Lee, the chief director of the assailants, in his "Memoirs" of the southern war.

The siege of Ninety-six was longer in duration, and different in issue. It was continued, with great address, and pressed, with the utmost vigour, for about twenty-nine days, and then relinquished, without the fall of the fortress.

As this affair was conducted, under the immediate eye and direction of general Greene, some account of the operations of it, is due to his memory. We select that, the best on record, which is given by general Lee, who, after the surrender of Augusta, acted himself a very distinguished part in it.

The garrison, consisting of about five hundred and fifty troops, was commanded by colonel Cruger, an officer signalized alike for his gallantry and skill.

As soon as the American army had invested the fort, they broke ground, in regular form, and push-

ed their advance with great activity, under the superintendence of general Koschiusko, who had been bred to arms, and regularly educated in the engineer-department.

Lord Rawdon, in the mean time, lay inactive in Charleston, deeply mortified by the fall of Augusta. He was also painfully anxious for the fate of Ninety-six; but, was too much crippled, in the battle near Camden, to attempt its relief, until he should receive reinforcements that were expected from England.

By the garrison and the assailants, the approaches and defence were conducted with eminent ability and enterprise.

“The besiegers,” says general Lee, “advancing closer and closer, with caution and safety, both on the right and left, lieutenant colonel Cruger foresaw his inevitable destruction, unless averted by the approach of lord Rawdon. To give time for the desired event, he determined, by nocturnal sallies, to attempt to carry our trenches; and to destroy with the spade whatever he might gain by the bayonet. These rencontres were fierce and frequent, directed sometimes upon one quarter and sometimes upon another; but so judicious had been the arrangements of the American general to counteract these expected attempts, that in no one instance did the British com-

mandant succeed. The mode adopted was nevertheless pursued without intermission; and although failing to effect the chief object contemplated, became extremely harassing to the American army,—whose repose during the night was incessantly disturbed, and whose labour during the day was as incessantly pressed. Ignorant of the situation and prospects of the British general as lieutenant colonel Cruger continued to be, he nevertheless indulged the confidence, that every effort would be made for his relief, and persevered with firmness and vigour in his defence.”

Lord Rawdon’s long-looked-for reinforcements arriving on the third of June, his lordship prepared immediately for the field; and, on the 7th, at the head of two thousand troops, advanced from Charleston, for the relief of Ninety-six.

“All his endeavours to transmit information to Cruger having failed, his lordship apprehended, that, pressed by the difficulties to which that officer must be reduced, and despairing of succour, he might be induced to surrender, with a view to obtain favourable conditions for his garrison; to stop which, he renewed his efforts to advise him of the propitious change of his condition, and his consequent advance for his relief.

“Greene was informed by Sumpter, on the 11th, of the arrival from Ireland, and of the measures immediately taken by Rawdon to resume offensive operations. Directing Sumpter to keep in his lordship's front, he reinforced him with all his cavalry conducted by lieutenant colonel Washington; urging the brigadier to exert every means in his power to delay the advance of the British army. Marion was also ordered to hasten from the lower country, as soon as he should discover the intention of Rawdon to move upon Greene; and brigadier Pickens, just joined from Augusta, was detached to Sumpter.

“Our approaches continued to be pushed with unabated diligence, in the expectation and hope that they might be brought to maturity in time to enforce the submission of the garrison, before the British general could make good his long march.

“We now began to deplore the early inattention of the chief engineer to the enemy's left; persuaded that had he been deprived of the use of the rivulet in the beginning of the siege, he must have been forced to surrender before the present hour. It was deemed practicable to set fire to the stockade fort, and thus to remove the water defence to the left of the rivulet. In the succeeding day, a dark violent storm came on from the west, without rain. Lieutenant colonel Lee

proposed to general Greene to permit him to make the attempt. This being granted, a sergeant with nine privates of the legion infantry, furnished with combustible matter, was directed to approach the stockade in the most concealed direction, under cover of the storm, while the batteries in every quarter opened upon the enemy, and demonstrations of striking at the star redoubt were made, with the expectation of diverting his attention from the intrepid party, which, with alacrity, undertook the hazardous enterprise. The sergeant conducted his gallant band in the best manner; concealing it whenever the ground permitted, and when exposed to view moving along upon the belly. At length he reached the ditch with three others; the whole close behind. Here unluckily he was discovered, while in the act of applying his fire. Himself and five were killed; the remaining four escaped unhurt, although many muskets were discharged at them running through the field, before they got beyond the nearest rise of ground which could cover them from danger. After this disappointment, nothing remained but to force our works to maturity, and to retard the advance of the British army. In the evening, a countryman was seen riding along our lines south of the town, conversing familiarly with the officers and soldiers on duty. He was not regarded, as

from the beginning of the siege, our friends in the country were in the habit of visiting camp, and were permitted to go wherever their curiosity led them, one of whom this man was presumed to be. At length he reached the great road leading directly to the town, in which quarter were only some batteries thrown up for the protection of the guards. Putting spur to his horse, he rushed with full speed into town, receiving the ineffectual fire of our centinels and guards nearest to him, and holding up a letter in his hand as soon as he cleared himself of our fire. The propitious signal gave joy to the garrison, who running to meet their friend, opened the gate, welcoming his arrival with loud expressions of joy. He was the bearer of a despatch from lord Rawdon to Cruger, communicating his arrival at Orangeburg in adequate force, and informing him that he was hastening to his relief. This intelligence infused new vigour into the intrepid leader and his brave companions.

“ It also inspired the indefatigable besieger with additional motives to push to conclusion his preparatives, as he now yielded up every hope heretofore derived from Cruger’s ignorance of the movement of the British general, and the forwardness of our works. Major Greene, who commanded the star with great ability, finding that our third parallel was nearly

finished, and that a Mayham tower was erecting which would overlook his parapet, very judiciously covered it with sand-bags, to lessen the capacity derived from superior height, leaving between each bag an aperture for the use of his riflemen. Nor were the approaches on the left less forward than those on the right; they not only were directed against the stockade, but also were carried so near the rivulet, as to render supplies of water difficult and precarious. The fire during the 17th was so effectual, as to induce the enemy to withdraw his guards established between the rivulet and the stockade; and parties of the troops on the left were posted in various points, to annoy the communication with the rivulet. These arrangements succeeded throughout the day completely, and the enemy suffered greatly from this privation, though accomplished too late to produce material advantage. Rawdon continued to advance by forced marches, and inclining to his right, made a vigorous push to throw himself between Sumpter and Greene.

“In this effort he completely succeeded, and thus baffled all the measures adopted by Greene to delay his approach. It became now necessary to hazard assault of the fort, to meet Rawdon, or to retire. The American general was disposed to imitate Cæsar at Alisia; first to beat the relieving army, and then to

take the besieged town. But his regular force did but little exceed the half of that under Rawdon, which added to his militia, consisting of the corps of Sumpter, Marion and Pickens, still left him numerically inferior to the British general. Nevertheless confiding in his known superiority of cavalry, he would have given battle to his lordship, could he have left an adequate corps to attend to the garrison. Compelled to relinquish this plan, he determined to storm the fort, although his works were yet unfinished. On the right, our third parallel was completed, two trenches and a mine were nearly let into the enemy's ditch, and the Mayham tower was finished.

“On the left, our trenches were within twenty yards of his ditch; and the battery directed by lieutenant Finn, gave to the assailant, in this quarter, advantages which, well supported, ensured success. Greene, anxiously as he desired to conclude his severe toils in triumph, was averse to the unequal contest to which he must necessarily expose his faithful troops, and would probably have decided on the safe course, had not his soldiers, with one voice, intreated to be led against the fort. The American army having witnessed the unconquerable spirit which actuated their general, as well as the unexpected results of former battles, could not brook the idea of abandon-



ing the siege, without one bold attempt to force a surrender. They recollected, with pain and remorse, that by the misbehaviour of one regiment at the battle of Guilford, and of another at Hobkirk's hill, their beloved general had been deprived of his merited laurels; and they supplicated their officers to entreat their commander to give them now an opportunity of obliterating preceding disgrace. This generous ardor could not be resisted by Greene. Orders were issued to prepare for a storm; and the hour of twelve on the next day (18th June) was appointed for the assailing columns to advance by signal from the centre battery.

“Lieutenant colonel Campbell, of the first Virginia regiment, with a detachment from the Maryland and Virginia brigades, was charged with the attack on the left; and lieutenant colonel Lee, with the legion infantry and Kirkwood's Delawares, with that on the right. Lieutenants Duval of Maryland, and Seldon of Virginia, commanded the forlorn hope of Campbell; and captain Rudolph, of the legion, that of Lee. Fascines were prepared to fill up the enemy's ditch, long poles with iron hooks were furnished to pull down the sand bags, with every other thing requisite to facilitate the progress of the assailant. At eleven the third parallel was manned, and our sharp shooters

took their station in the tower. The first signal was announced from the centre battery, upon which the assailing columns entered the trenches; manifesting delight in the expectation of carrying by their courage the great prize in view.

“ At the second cannon, which was discharged at the hour of twelve, Campbell and Lee rushed to the assault. Cruger, always prepared, received them with his accustomed firmness. The parapets were manned with spike and bayonet, and the riflemen, fixed at the sand-bag apertures, maintained a steady and destructive fire. Duval and Seldon entered the enemy's ditch at different points, and Campbell stood prepared to support them, in the rear of the party furnished with hooks to pull down the sand-bags. This party had also entered the enemy's ditch, and began to apply the hook. Uncovering the parapet now would have given us victory; and such was the vigorous support afforded by the musketry from the third parallel, from the riflemen in the tower, and from the artillery mounted in battery, that sanguine expectations of this happy issue were universally indulged. The moment the bags in front were pulled down, Campbell would have mounted the parapet, where the struggle could not have been long maintained. Cruger had prepared an intermediate battery with his three pieces, which

he occasionally applied to right and left. At first it was directed against Lee's left, but very soon every piece was applied upon Campbell's right, which was very injurious to his column.

“Major Greene, commanding in the star redoubt, sensible of the danger to which he was exposed, if the attempted lodgment upon his front curtain succeeded, determined to try the bayonet in his ditch as well as on his parapet. To captains Campbell and French was committed this bold effort. Entering into the ditch through a sally-port in the rear of the star, they took opposite directions, and soon came in contact, the one with Duval, the other with Seldon. Here ensued a desperate conflict. The Americans, not only fighting with the enemy in front but with the enemy overhead, sustained gallantly the unequal contest, until Duval and Seldon became disabled by wounds, when they yielded, and were driven back with great loss to the point of entry. The few surviving escaped with the hookmen to our trenches, where yet remained Campbell, the sand-bags not being removed. On the left, the issue was very different. Rudolph gained the enemy's ditch, and followed by the column, soon opened his way into the fort, from which the enemy, giving their last fire, precipitately retreated. Measures were in train on the part of Lee, to follow up his blow by

passing the rivulet, entering the town, and forcing the fortified prison, whence the left might have yielded substantial aid to the attack upon the star, by compelling Cruger to struggle for the town, or forcing him with all his troops to take refuge in the star; a situation not long to be held, crowded as he must have been, and destitute of water. The adverse fortune experienced in the assault on the right, made the mind of Greene return to his cardinal policy, the preservation of adequate force to keep the field.

“ Charmed with the courage displayed in his view, and regretting its disadvantageous application, he sent orders to Campbell to draw off, and to Lee to desist from further advance, but to hold the stockade abandoned by the enemy.

“ Our loss amounted, during the siege, to one hundred and eighty-five killed and wounded; that of the garrison to eighty-five. Captain Armstrong, of the Maryland line, was the only officer killed on our side, as was lieutenant Roney the only one on their side. After our repulse, Greene sent a flag to lieutenant colonel Cruger, proposing a cessation of hostilities for the purpose of burying the dead; but as to the burial of the dead the proposition was rejected, Cruger not choosing to admit our participation in a ceremonial, which custom had appropriated to the victor.

“As soon as it was dark, the detachment was withdrawn from the stockade, and preparations were begun for retreat.”

The mortification experienced by the American army, in consequence of their repulse from the British works, and, at being compelled, by the approach of an enemy too powerful to be resisted, to abandon an enterprise, which, in two days more, must have clothed them in laurels, was galling and deep. They felt humbled at their failure, although perfectly conscious, that, in the late assault, they had done their duty.

To remove these sensations, so afflicting to the brave, and, at the same time, so injurious to military service, their humane and heroic commander, who, instead of being dissatisfied, was proud of their prowess, addressed them, in general orders, in a style that was kind, consolatory, and encouraging.

He expressed to them his high and grateful sense of their conduct, both in their attack on the fort, and during the siege. He assured them, that, judging from the past, he anticipated, in future, the most brilliant result, whenever an opportunity should be afforded them, of confronting the enemy, on equal terms. And, that, confiding in their determination, to manifest, on all occasions, the same dauntless spirit they

had so recently exhibited, he would neglect, on his part, no practicable measure, to gratify them with the meeting they so ardently desired, and which he felt convinced, was alone necessary to give them victory, and cover them with glory.

On the approach of lord Rawdon, Greene, placing his sick and wounded in front, and throwing, as on a former occasion, his light troops into the rear, to harass his lordship's van, and retard his advance, fell back rapidly on the state of North Carolina. The tract of country over which he passed, was exceedingly unfavourable for a retreating army, pursued by an experienced and powerful foe. It was intersected by four considerable streams, the Saluda, the Enoree, the Tiger, and Broad river; all of which, lying in his front, he was compelled to cross, in the face of the enemy.

His situation was, again, extremely critical, and his prospects darkened by a gathering cloud, which no mortal eye could penetrate.

Disheartened, by a state of things, so perilous and gloomy, some of his friends, advised him to abandon South Carolina, and repair, for safety, to his resources in the north. His reply was indicative of the patriot and hero. "I will recover the country, or perish in the attempt."<sup>2</sup>

Having, without loss, made good his passage over the rivers in his front, lord Rawdon, perceiving the futility of any further attempt to overtake him, abandoned the pursuit; and, returning to Ninety-six, prepared for its evacuation. Thus did the policy of Greene, which is moral strength, compel the surrender of that fortress, although from a want of physical strength, he failed to carry it by the sword.

To sustain the spirit and hopes of his friends, and repress, as far as possible, those of the tories, he resolved not to abandon the tract of country he now occupied. No sooner, therefore, had lord Rawdon commenced his retrograde movement towards Ninety-six, than general Greene changed his front, and moved in the same direction. Nor did he deem it requisite to maintain from the enemy a very respectful distance. So enterprising was he in his disposition, and so daring in his demeanour, that his light troops, which now formed his van, hung at times on the British rear, intercepting its stragglers and threatening its safety.

On the breaking up of the garrison of Ninety-six, and the return of lord Rawdon towards Charleston, which immediately ensued, the British army moved in two columns, at a considerable distance from each other. It was then that general Greene became, in

reality, the pursuing party, exceedingly anxious to bring his lordship to battle.

To effect this, colonel Lee, with a detachment of light troops, received orders to throw himself in the enemy's front, and, by every practicable measure, retard his advance, until Greene should overtake him.

This service was performed, with great enterprise, ability and skill. But notwithstanding the exertions of that distinguished young officer, he was frustrated in his purpose, through a failure of the expected co-operation of others. Thus, by one of those accidents, which so often decide the fate of armies, did that of lord Rawdon escape destruction. For had Sumpter, Marion, and Washington, been fortunate enough to join Lee, at either of the places designated in their plan, his lordship would have been retarded until Greene had reached him; in which case, his ruin would have been inevitable.

Near half the summer was already wasted. Since the commencement of January, the army of Greene had experienced nothing but an uninterrupted series of exertion, toil, exposure, and battle. It is believed that a more active, or, for the number of troops engaged, a more eventful campaign, is nowhere recorded in military history.



Nor had adverse fortune been backward in her approaches, or light in her visitations. The Americans had been twice defeated in general action; once repulsed from the lines of a fortress; and twice compelled to consult their safety, in a rapid, arduous, and extensive retreat. Notwithstanding this, their hopes were sanguine, and their confidence unshaken; because the genius of their commander still converting misfortune into prosperity, and, deriving from defeat the advantages of victory, was conducting them with certainty to conquest and triumph. Already had they captured most of the enemy's posts, turned against him the tide of war, so as to place him completely on the defensive, and wrested from his hand a large proportion of the conquered territory.

But the season was now hot, and the troops were becoming sickly. General Greene, therefore, resolved on retiring to a secure and healthy position, to indulge his army in a short repose, that their health being restored, and their strength renovated, they might be the better prepared to act with vigour, in their future operations.

Selecting for this purpose the high hills of Santee, where the air is pure, the water excellent, and, in consequence of the elevation of the ground, the

heats less oppressive, he encamped there about the middle of July.

This pause from the toil of active operations, the first they had enjoyed for many months, was alike necessary and acceptable to officers and soldiers. To the commander himself it was peculiarly so, as it afforded him leisure to scrutinize his own conduct, to derive instructive lessons from a calm review of it, and to mature more fully, by profound meditation, the scheme of warfare he was afterwards to pursue.

## CHAPTER IX.

Greene is satisfied with his army—his gigantic plan of operations, for the entire recovery of the southern department—in consequence of information from general Washington, he relinquishes a part of it.—The execution of colonel Hayne, with Greene's conduct on the occasion—the salutary effects of that conduct—colonel Hayne's letter—his deportment at the place of execution, compared with that of major Andre—all things considered, the preference given to the conduct of the American—Greene marches in quest of the enemy—advances on them, at the Eutaw springs—the battle of that place—description of—a singular and interesting military adventure.—The British army retreats, and the American pursues—the shattered and enfeebled condition of the former—Greene's relative condition meliorated, by every operation in which he engages—this an evidence of the superiority of his genius. Unable to compel the foe to another action, he falls back, by easy marches, to the high hills of Santee.

FROM a deliberate retrospect of what he had already achieved, Greene found abundant reason to be satisfied with his army. While the loyalty of its attachment to his own person, and to the glorious cause in which he was engaged, conciliated his affection and awakened his gratitude, the invincibility of its spirit, and its heroism in action, excited his admiration, and ministered to his pride.

But notwithstanding the discipline and firmness of his regulars, and the high moral excellence of all his troops, their numbers were too limited, and their physical powers too inconsiderable, to execute the

daring and gigantic plan he meditated for the recovery of the southern department.

Virginia, although valiantly struggling in defence of her freedom, was ready to sink under a formidable invasion. Wilmington in North Carolina was actually occupied by a British garrison, and, no opposition to them being there made, the whole eastern section of that state, was virtually subject to the dominion of the enemy. For the recovery of the states of South Carolina and Georgia much had been done; but still, their capitals and a small portion of their maritime districts, were in possession of the invaders.

The whole amount of the southern army now assembled on the high hills of Santee, did not exceed two thousand three hundred.

With a force thus disproportioned, an attempt to act on a theatre of war so extensive in its limits, would have presented itself to most leaders as wild and chimerical. But to the mind of Greene, capacious, enlightened, and full of resources, the project appeared feasible; and his love of enterprise determined him to undertake it.

His plan appears to have been, to commence his operations, by the reduction of the garrison in Wilmington; then expel the enemy from South Carolina and Georgia; and, having accomplished this, hasten

with the elite of his army, and, placing himself at the head of the troops in Virginia, again take the field against lord Cornwallis, who had assumed the command of the British forces in that state—a scheme of action, and a combination of adventure, beyond, perhaps, what any other leader ever meditated with such limited means.

Some movements towards the execution of this plan having been already effected, Greene, in consequence of information received from general Washington, was induced to relinquish it, and confine his views, for the present, exclusively to the recovery of the two southern states.

That he would have succeeded in his colossal attempt against the enemy, throughout the whole of the southern department, it would be hazardous either to assert or deny. The conception of the enterprise marks, at least, the compass of his mind, and the boldness of his spirit; and satisfactorily demonstrates the stupendous results, that might have been expected from his operations, had his force been commensurate with his talents for war. Nor is it extravagant to believe, that, in the prosecution of his design, comparatively feeble as his army was, he would have created and called into action, resources sufficient for its complete accomplishment.

About this period, occurred, in Charleston, a very tragical event, which, although private in itself, involved public principles, of great latitude and importance, and called for the interference of general Greene, as commander of the American forces in that quarter. Nor was he wanting, on the occasion, either in sympathy as a man, or in prompt investigation and decision as an officer.

The event alluded to, was the inhuman execution, by the British commandant, of colonel Hayne, an American citizen of high respectability and worth, in direct violation of a compact entered into with himself, and contrary to the principles of legitimate war.

The object of the enemy, in the perpetration of this nefarious act, was perfectly manifest. If it was not openly avowed, no pretexts at least were feigned, for the purpose of concealment. Nor could any attempt at disguise have proved effectual. It was, to intimidate the friends of Independence in the neighbourhood of Charleston, and prevent them, on the approach of the American forces, from resorting to arms, and assembling around the standard of their country.

But the wisdom and firmness of Greene frustrated their intention, and greatly promoted the very end

they were solicitous to prevent. Thus did he now, as on every other occasion, by an open, manly, and magnanimous line of conduct, defeat them in their measures of short sighted policy. More conclusive evidence of his intellectual superiority cannot be required.

No sooner was he informed of the circumstances of colonel Hayne's execution, than he addressed a letter to colonel Balfour, the British commandant of Charleston, demanding an explanation of so daring an outrage on the laws of war, and the recognized rights of the American citizen.

The attempt to explain amounting to nothing but a miserable subterfuge, Greene resolved on a stern retaliation, should the practice be pursued. In this he was supported by all his officers, who concluded a spirited and manly address to him, in the following words.

“ Permit us to add, that while we lament the necessity of such a severe expedient, and commiserate the sufferings to which individuals will be necessarily exposed, we are not unmindful that such a measure may, in its consequences, involve our own lives in additional danger. But we had rather forego temporary distinctions, and commit our lives to the most desperate situation, than prosecute this just and necessary war on terms so unequal and dishonourable.”

Gratified alike by this assurance of cordial support, and the firm and animated language in which it was proffered, the commander immediately issued a proclamation, deeply reprobating the late execution, and declaring his deliberate and solemn determination to “make reprisals for all such inhuman insults, and to select, for the objects of retaliation, officers of the regular forces, and not the deluded Americans, who had joined the royal army.”

By this just and resolute measure, he attained, at once, a two-fold end. He broke down the sanguinary disposition of the enemy, and, by convincing the citizens of South Carolina, that their rights and lives would be securely protected or rigorously avenged, he encouraged them to repair to the standard of their country.

Even the British officers themselves, after a cool and dispassionate examination of the facts and principles connected with the event, were compelled to condemn the injustice and cruelty exercised towards colonel Hayne, and to recognize, of course, the correctness of the resolution of general Greene.

The ferocious and exterminating character which the war in the South, at this period, threatened to put on, was fortunately prevented by two causes—the attitude which the American general assumed;



and the prospects of peace which soon afterwards ensued. Greene did not retaliate; and the British commander, ashamed of the past, and shrinking from the responsibility of what must necessarily follow, should he indulge his thirst for the blood of the innocent, proceeded no further.

The following letter, written by colonel Hayne when informed, after a mock trial, that he was sentenced to expire on a gibbet, and the subsequent narrative by general Lee, deserve to be perused by every native of the United States. If the reader's sensibility be honourable and his heart loyal, those productions will strengthen his love of country, and cherish in his bosom, a laudable pride, by representing to him, in colours that nothing can improve, the imposing character, which, in the most trying situation, an American can maintain, and the calm dignity with which he can die.

Those, and they are many,—that have wept over the deportment of the unfortunate Andre, who, by the maxims of war, deserved his fate, will scarcely do less over that of the accomplished and amiable Hayne, who, by the same maxims, was entitled to an acquittal.

Indeed with the closing scene of the life of colonel Hayne are connected various considerations, which

give to it, in point of dignity and interest, a decided ascendancy over that of major Andre.

The latter gentleman was a soldier by profession, adjutant general to the British army, and the intimate and confidential friend of the commander in chief of the royal forces.

His habits, therefore, with the whole bent of his mind, and the train of his daily reflections, must have rendered the idea of death familiar to him, and, united to his military pride, deprived it entirely of its power to dismay; while his elevated rank, and the important business which had been lately confided to him, placed him on an eminence, where all christendom must witness his demeanour. Hence his future fame, must be in proportion to his present firmness.

Under such circumstances, to die with calm and manly heroism, was a *natural*, if not a *necessary* act. To have shrunk from the blow, or manifested unsoldierly perturbation under the trial, would have been pusillanimous and cowardly.

Besides, distance and long absence from his friends, and his being an unmarried man, lately disappointed in a tender attachment, with the well known effect of a camp life on the mind of an officer, must have blunted greatly those domestic feelings, which give to death its severest pang.

The reverse of this, in all points, was the situation of colonel Hayne.

Although possessing a soul of consummate bravery, he was a soldier and an officer only in name. His station was that of a private gentleman, and nothing more. The pride of rank, therefore, gave him no support. In the midst of his friends and neighbours who were agonized to distraction by his melancholy fate, and fresh from the embraces of his orphan children, whose mother he had recently consigned to the tomb, he had every thing to crush and humble his spirit, and shatter his fortitude at a conjuncture so appalling.

To die with greatness, under these circumstances, was infinitely difficult—the result of heroism of the highest order. Yet, with the firmness of a martyr and the humility of a christian, the task was triumphantly achieved by the American.

Without meaning to sully the lustre of major Andre, whose character and deportment all must admire, we venture to assert, that for *one* individual, that would have shrunk from death in *his* situation, *twenty* would have done it, in *that of colonel Hayne*.

That our reasoning on this subject is neither sophistical nor forced, the last words of Andre satisfactorily testify.

Being told, at the place of execution, that the fatal moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he replied, "Nothing, but to request that you will *witness to the world*, that I die *like a brave man*."

In this answer is contained a virtual, but fair avowal of the fact, that the very fortitude and loftiness of soul, which the prisoner exhibited, arose, in part, from a firm persuasion, that *his heroic deportment would be made known to the world*, and spoken of in a way to redound to his fame.

Equally favourable to the position we have taken, are the words of general Washington on the occasion.

"Andre," says the general in a private letter, "has met his fate with that fortitude, which *was to be expected*, from an accomplished man, and a *gallant officer*"—a sentiment clearly implying, that had he not been an officer, *less fortitude* might in reason have been looked for.

But colonel Hayne did not exhibit less fortitude. Comparatively, therefore, he exhibited more.

*To lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour.*

"MY LORD AND SIR.

"On Thursday morning I had the honour of receiving a letter from major Frazer, by which he informed me, that a council of general officers would be as-

sembled the next day for my trial; and on the evening of the same day, I received another letter from the same officer, acquainting me, that instead of *that*, a court of inquiry would sit for the purpose of deciding under what point of view I ought to be considered. I was also told, that any person whom I should appoint, would be permitted to accompany me as my counsel. Having never entertained any other idea of a court of inquiry, or heard of any other being formed of it, than of its serving merely to precede a council of war, or some other tribunal, for examining the circumstances more fully, except in the case of a spy; and Mr. Jarvis, lieutenant marshal to the provost, not having succeeded in finding the person who had been named for my counsel, I did not take the pains to summon any witnesses, though it would have been in my power to have produced many; and I presented myself before the court without any assistance whatever. When I was before that assembly, I was further convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures. I found that the members of it were not sworn, and the witnesses were not examined upon oath; and all the members, as well as every person present, might easily have perceived, by the questions which I asked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the least notion that I was tried

or examined upon an affair on which my life or death depended.

“In the case of spies, a court of inquiry is all that can be necessary, because the simple fact whether the person is or is not a spy, is all that can be the object of their researches; and his having entered the lines of the enemy’s camp or garrison, subjects him to military execution. As that accusation neither is nor can be made against me, I humbly conceive that the information I received, that the court would make inquiry concerning what point of view I ought to be considered under, could not be taken as a sufficient notice of their having an intention to try me then; but could only be thought to signify, that they were to take it into consideration whether I ought to be looked upon as a British subject or as an American: that in the first case I should undergo a legal and impartial trial; in the second, I should be set at liberty on my parole. Judge then, my lord and sir, of the astonishment I must have been in, when I found they had drawn me by surprise into a proceeding tending to judgment, without my knowing it to be such; and deprived me of the ability of making a legal defence, which it would have been very easy for me to have done, founded both in law and in fact;—when I saw myself destitute of the assistance of counsel and of

witnesses; and when they abruptly informed me, that after the procedure of the court I was condemned to die, and that in a very few days. Immediately upon receiving this notice, I sent for the lawyer whom I had originally chosen for my counsel. I here inclose his opinion concerning the legality of the process held against me; and I beg that I may be permitted to refer myself to him. I can assure you with the utmost truth, that I had and have many reasons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favour of a regular trial, if not, which I cannot however suppose from you justice and humanity, I earnestly intreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the dreadful change. I hope you will return me a speedy answer, and am, with respect,

“ISAAC HAYNE.”

“To this representation the town major returned the following answer. ‘I have to inform you, that your execution is not ordered in consequence of any sentence from the court of inquiry; but by virtue of the authority with which the commander in chief in South Carolina and the commanding officer in Charleston are invested: and their resolves on the subject are fixed and unchangeable.’

“Disdaining further discussion with relentless power, Hayne merely solicited a short respite, to enable him for the last time to see his children. The request was granted in the following communication from the town major. ‘I am to inform you, that in consequence of a petition signed by governor Bull and many others, as also of your prayer of yesterday, and the humane treatment shown by you to the British prisoners who fell into your hands, you are respited for forty-eight hours; but should general Greene offer to expostulate in your favour with the commanding officer, from that moment this respite will cease, and you will be ordered to immediate execution.’

“After the delivery of this message, the amiable American enjoyed the comfort of seeing his family and conversing with his friends. During this interesting, this awful period, he discovered a dignified composure; and in his last evening declared, that ‘he felt no more alarmed at death, than at any other occurrence which is necessary and unavoidable.’ Very different, indeed, were the feelings of his friends. Mrs. Peronneau, his sister, accompanied by his children, all clad in the deepest mourning, and manifesting the torture of their heart-rending agony, waited on lord Rawdon, and on their knees supplicated him to spare



the victim! But his lordship's 'resolve was fixed and unchangeable!' Anxious to terminate a life of truth in the formalities of honour, colonel Hayne solicited, in a second letter to the stern duumvirate, permission to die like a soldier. He then arranged the preceding correspondence; and on the morning of his execution presented the packet to his son (a boy of thirteen years), and directed him to 'deliver it to Mrs. Edwards, with my request to forward it to her brother in congress. Go then to the place of my execution,—receive my body, and see it decently interred with my forefathers.' This done, he embraced him, imploring the divine blessing on his orphan children. Dressed with his accustomed neatness, accompanied by a few friends, he marched with unruffled serenity through a weeping crowd to the place of execution. He had flattered himself with the presumption that his last request would be granted: quickly the sight of the gibbet announced the fallacy of this hope. For a moment he paused, but immediately recovering his wonted firmness, moved forward. At this instant a friend whispered his confidence that 'you will now exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die.' 'I will endeavour to do so,' was the reply of the modest martyr. Never was intention better fulfilled: neither arrogating superiority, nor betraying

weakness, he ascended the cart, unsupported and unappalled. Having taken leave of his friends, and commended his infant family to their protection, he drew the cap over his eyes, and illustrated by his demeanor, that death in the cause of our country, even on a gallows, cannot appal the virtuous and the brave."

Decamping from the high hills of Santee, on the 21st of August, general Greene moved in quest of the enemy now commanded by colonel Stuart, lord Rawdon having recently sailed for Europe.

Proceeding by easy marches, the better to preserve the strength of his troops, and taking a circuitous route, that he might pass the Wateree and Congaree, two considerable rivers in his front, without molestation, he did not arrive in the neighbourhood of the foe, posted in force at the Eutaw Springs, until the evening of the 7th of September.

The battle, which, on the following day, was fought on that ground, Greene having almost by surprise attacked the enemy in their position, was one of the most scientific and bloody, that marked the course of the revolutionary war.

General Lee, who took part in it, with his usual gallantry and good conduct, has favoured us with the following excellent description of it.

“Greene advanced at four in the morning in two columns, with artillery at the head of each, lieutenant colonel Lee in his front and lieutenant colonel Washington in his rear.

“While moving with much circumspection, in the well grounded expectation that we should fall upon the British picquets unperceived, captain Armstrong, conducting the reconnoitring party, communicated to Lee the approach of a body of the enemy. This occurred about eight o’clock in the morning, four miles from the British camp. Forwarding this intelligence to the general, and presuming that the descried foe, consisting of horse and foot, must be the van of the enemy, Lee halted, waiting for the approximation of our main body.

“The legion infantry were drawn up across the road, the cavalry in open wood on its right, and Henderson with his corps in thick wood upon its left. Shortly the British appeared, following Armstrong. The action opened, and the enemy were soon forced in front, while the horse, making a rapid movement under major Eggleston, gained the rear. The infantry was destroyed, several killed, and about forty taken with their captain; the cavalry flying in full speed as soon as they saw the legion dragoons pressing forward, saved themselves, as did the foraging

party following in the rear, consisting of two or three hundred without arms.

“Pressing forward, we soon got in view of another body of the enemy, with whom the action recommenced. Lieutenant colonel Lee, advising the general of this occurrence, requested the support of artillery to counteract that of the enemy now opening. Quickly colonel Williams, adjutant general, brought up captain Gains with his two pieces in full gallop, who untimbering took his part with decision and effect.

“During this rencounter both armies formed. The American having, as before mentioned, moved in two columns, each composed of the corps destined for its respective lines, soon ranged in order of battle.

“The North Carolina militia under colonel Malmedy, with that of South Carolina, led by the brigadiers Marion and Pickens, making the first, and the continentals making the second line: lieutenant colonel Campbell with the Virginians on the right; brigadier Sumner with the North Carolinians in the centre; and the Marylanders, conducted by Williams and Howard, on the left, resting with its left flank on the Charleston road. Lee with his legion was charged with the care of the right, as was Henderson with his corps with that of the left flank. The artillery, consisting only of two threes and two sixes, com-

manded by the captains Gains and Finn, were disposed the first with the front and the last with the rear line; and Baylor's regiment of horse, with Kirkwood's infantry of Delaware, composed the reserve, led by lieutenant colonel Washington.

"The British army was drawn up in one line, a few hundred paces in front of their camp (tents standing), with two separate bodies of infantry and the cavalry posted in its rear, ready to be applied as contingencies might point out.

"The Buffs (third regiment) composed its right, resting with its flank on the Charleston road; the remains of several corps under lieutenant colonel Cruger the centre; and the sixty-third and sixty-fourth (veterans) the left. On the Eutaw branch, which runs to the British camp, right of the Charleston road, was posted major Majoribanks at the head of the light infantry, making one battalion,—his right on the branch, and his left stretching in an oblique line towards the flank of the Buffs. This branch issued from a deep ravine, between which and the British camp was the Charleston road, and between the road and the ravine was a strong brick house. The artillery was distributed along the line, a part on the Charleston road and another part on the road leading to Roache's plantation, which passed through the enemy's left wing.

“The front line of the American army, following close in the rear of the two pieces under captain Gains, began now to be felt by the van, who, diverging to the right and left, firing obliquely, took post on the flanks agreeably to the orders of battle.

“The militia advancing with alacrity, the battle became warm, convincing lieutenant colonel Stuart, unexpected as it appears to have been, that Greene was upon him. The fire ran from flank to flank, our line still advancing, and the enemy, adhering to his position, manifesting a determination not to move.

“The sixty-third and the legion infantry were warmly engaged, when the sixty-fourth, with a part of the centre, advanced upon colonel Malmedy, who soon yielding, the success was pushed by the enemy's left, and the militia, after a fierce contest, gave way,—leaving the corps of Henderson and the legion infantry engaged,—sullenly falling back.

“Greene instantly ordered up the centre of the second line under brigadier Sumner, to fill the chasm produced by the recession of the militia, who came handsomely into action, ranging with the infantry of the legion and the corps of Henderson, both still maintaining the flanks with unyielding energy. The battle being reinstated grew hotter, and the enemy, who had before gained ground, fell back to his first

position. Stuart now brought into line the corps of infantry posted in the rear of his left wing, and directed major Coffin with his cavalry to take post on his left; evincing a jealousy of that flank where the woods were open and the ground opportune for cavalry, in which we excelled. In this point of the action, lieutenant colonel Henderson received a ball, which stopped his further exertion. His corps, however, soon recovered from the effect produced by his fall; and, led on by lieutenant colonel Hampton, continuing to act well its part, the American line persevered in advance, and the fire became mutually destructive. Greene, determining to strike a conclusive blow, brought up the Marylanders and Virginians; when our line became dense, and pressing forward with a shout the battle raged with redoubled fury.

“The enemy, sensible that the weight of our force was bearing upon him, returned our shout, and sustained himself nobly from right to left. Majoribanks now for the first time was put in motion, which being perceived, lieutenant colonel Washington with the reserve was commanded to fall upon him, and at the same moment the line was ordered to hold up its fire and to charge with bayonet. The air again resounded with the shouts of the advancing Americans; the enemy answering by pouring in a close and quickly re-

peated fire. As we drew near, lieutenant colonel Lee, at the head of his infantry, discerning that we outstretched the enemy's line, ordered captain Rudolph to fall back with his company, to gain the enemy's flank, and to give him a raking fire as soon as he turned it. This movement was executed with precision, and had the happiest effect. The enemy's left could not sustain the approaching shock, assailed in front as it was in flank, and it instantly began to give way, which quickly afterwards took place along the whole line, in some parts of which the hostile ranks contended with the bayonet; many individuals of the Marylanders and of the Buffs having been mutually transfixed. The conquering troops pressed the advantage they had gained, pursuing the foe, and possessed themselves of his camp, which was yielded without a struggle. Washington promptly advanced to execute the orders he had received, and made a circuit to gain the rear of Majoribanks, preceded by lieutenant Stuart with the leading section. As he drew near to the enemy, he found the ground thickly set with black jack, and almost impervious to horse. Deranging as was this unlooked-for obstacle, Washington with his dauntless cavalry forced his way, notwithstanding the murderous discharge of the enemy, safe behind his covert. Human courage could



not surmount the obstruction which interposed, or this gallant officer with his intrepid corps would have triumphed. Captain Watts, second in command, fell, pierced with two balls. Lieutenants King and Simmons experienced a similar fate; and Washington's horse being killed, he became entangled in the fall, when struggling to extricate himself, he was bayoneted and taken. Lieutenant Stuart was now dismounted, being severely wounded, and his horse killed close to the hostile ranks; nor did a single man of his section escape, some being killed and the rest wounded. The gallant young Carlisle, from Alexandria, a cadet in the regiment, was killed, and half the corps destroyed; after which the residue was drawn off by captain Parsons, assisted by lieutenant Gordon.

“This repulse took place at the time the British line gave way. Majoribanks, although victorious, fell back to cover his flying comrades; and major Sheridan, with the New York volunteers, judiciously took possession of the brick house before mentioned for the same purpose; while, with the same view, major Coffin, with the cavalry, placed himself on the left, in an open field west of the Charleston road.

“In our pursuit we took three hundred prisoners and two pieces of artillery: one taken by captain

Rudolph, of the legion infantry, and the other by lieutenant Duval, of the Maryland line, who was killed,—a young officer of the highest promise. As soon as we entered the field, Sheridan began to fire from the brick house. The left of the legion infantry, led by lieutenant Manning, the nearest to the house, followed close upon the enemy still entering it, hoping to force his way before the door could be barred. One of our soldiers actually got half way in, and for some minutes a struggle of strength took place,—Manning pressing him in, and Sheridan forcing him out. The last prevailed, and the door was closed. Here captain Barry, deputy adjutant general, the brother of the celebrated colonel S. Barry, and some few others, were overtaken and made prisoners. Lieutenant colonel Lee, finding his left discomfited in the bold attempt, on the success of which much hung, recalled it; and Manning so disposed of his prisoners, by mixing them with his own soldiers, as to return unhurt; the enemy in the house sparing him rather than risking those with him.

“ At this point of time lieutenant colonel Howard, with a part of his regiment, passed through the field towards the head of the ravine, and captain Kirkwood appeared approaching the house on its right. Majoribanks, though uninjured, continued stationary

on the enemy's right, as did Coffin with the cavalry on the left. Sheridan, from a few swivels and his musketry, poured his fire in every direction without cessation.

“During this period, Stuart was actively employed in forming his line; difficult in itself from the severe battle just fought, and rendered more so by the consternation which evidently prevailed. The followers of the army, the wagons, the wounded, the timid, were all hastening towards Charleston; some along the road in our view; others through the field back of the road, equally in view; while the staff were destroying stores of every kind, especially spirits, which the British soldiers sought with avidity.

“General Greene brought up all his artillery against the house, hoping to effect a breach, through which he was determined to force his way; convinced that the submission of the enemy in the house gave to him the hostile army. At the same moment lieutenant colonel Lee (still on the right) sent for Eggleston and his cavalry, for the purpose of striking Coffin, and turning the head of the ravine; which point was properly selected for the concentration of our force, too much scattered by the pursuit, and by the allurements which the enemy's camp presented. Here we commanded the ravine, and might readily break up

the incipient arrangements of the rallying enemy; here we were safe from the fire of the house, and here we possessed the Charleston road. While Lee was halted at the edge of the wood, impatiently waiting for the arrival of his horse, he saw captain Armstrong (the leading officer for the day) approaching, and not doubting that the corps was following, the lieutenant colonel advanced into the field, directing Armstrong to follow.

“He had gone but a little way, when the captain told him that only his section was up, having never seen the rest of the corps since its discomfiture on the left some time before. This unlooked for intelligence was not less fatal to the bright prospect of personal glory, than it was to the splendid issue of the conflict. Not a single doubt can be entertained, had the cavalry of the legion been in place, as it ought to have been, but that Coffin would have been carried, which must have been followed by the destruction of the British army. Our infantry were getting into order, and several small bodies were sufficiently near to have improved every advantage obtained by the cavalry. Howard, with Oldham’s company, had just recommenced action between the house and the head of the ravine; and our troops on the right were in motion for the same ground, not doubting the des-

truction of Coffin, who only could annoy their flank. The recession of Lee, and the retirement of Howard, who was at this instant severely wounded, nipped in the bud measures of offence in this quarter; while, on the left, the house remained in possession of Sheridan, the weight of our metal being too light to effect a breach.

“This intermission gave Stuart time to restore his broken line, which being accomplished, he instantly advanced, and the action was renewed. It soon terminated in the enemy’s repossession of his camp, followed by our retreat, with the loss of two field pieces, and the recovery of one of the two before taken by us.

“Satisfied with these advantages, colonel Stuart did not advance further; and general Greene (after despatching lieutenant colonel Lee with a proposition to the British commander, the object of which was to unite with him in burying the dead), drew off; persuaded that he had recovered the country, the object in view, as well as that a more convenient opportunity for repetition of battle would be presented on the enemy’s retreat, which he was convinced could not long be deferred.

“The battle lasted upwards of three hours, and was fiercely contested, every corps in both armies

bravely supporting each other. The loss was uncommonly great,—more than one fifth of the British and one fourth of the American army being killed and wounded, as stated in the official returns, which intelligent officers of both armies considered short of the real loss sustained. The enemy made sixty prisoners, all wounded;—we took about five hundred, including some wounded left in his camp by colonel Stuart when he retired. Of six commandants of regiments bearing continental commissions, Williams and Lee were only unhurt. Washington, Howard and Henderson were wounded; and lieutenant colonel Campbell, highly respected, beloved and admired, was killed.

“ This excellent officer received a ball in his breast, in the decisive charge which broke the British line, while listening to an interrogatory from lieutenant colonel Lee, then on the left of the legion infantry, adjoining the right of the Virginians, the post of Campbell. He dropped on the pommel of his saddle speechless, and was borne in the rear by Lee’s orderly dragoon, in whose care he expired, the moment he was taken from his horse. Many of our officers of every grade suffered, militia as well as continentals; among whom was brigadier Pickens, who was wounded.

“The conclusion of this battle was as unexpected to both armies as it was mortifying to ours. The splendor which its beginning and progress had shed upon our arms became obscured, and the rich prize within our grasp was lost. Had our cavalry contributed their aid, as heretofore it never failed to do, a British army must have surrendered to Greene on the field of battle. But they were unfortunately brought into action under difficulties not to be conquered; one corps cut to pieces, and the other dispersed, in effect the same; and the critical moment passed, before it concentrated. Had the infantry of the reserve preceded the cavalry of the reserve, Washington would have avoided the unequal contest to which he was exposed; and by patiently watching for the crisis, would have fallen upon Majoribanks when retiring to shield the enemy's broken line. Had Eggleston not been drawn from his post by orders officiously communicated to that officer as from the general, when in truth he never issued such orders, Lee would have been joined by his cavalry, ready to inflict the last blow, so clearly within his power. Both these untoward incidents were necessary to stop us from the signal victory courting our acceptance, and both occurred.

“The honour of the day was claimed by both sides, while the benefits flowing from it were by both yielded to the Americans: the first belonged to neither and the last to us.

“Congress expressed their sense of the conduct of the general and of the merit of the army, presenting their thanks to Greene, and to every corps who fought under him on that day; presenting him at the same time with a British standard, and a gold medal emblematical of the battle.”

In this action, the effective force of the two armies may be considered equal; each consisting of about two thousand three hundred troops, their characters being in all respects nearly the same.

The palm of gallantry and skill in arms belonged to the Americans. In fair conflict, the British were beaten; and they escaped ruin, only in consequence of a fortuitous occurrence, propitious to them, and unfavourable to their enemy.

In the course of the battle occurred an individual affair, somewhat singular, and not without interest.

Two young officers bearing the same rank met in personal combat. The American perceiving that the Briton had a decided superiority, in the use of the sabre, and being himself of great activity, and personal strength almost gigantic, closed with his adversary and made him his prisoner.



Gentlemanly, generous, and high minded, this event, added to a personal resemblance which they were observed to bear to each other, produced between these two youthful warriors an intimacy, which increased, in a short time, to a mutual attachment.

Not long after the action, the American officer returning home, on furlough, to settle some private business, obtained permission for his friend to accompany him.

Travelling without any attendants or guard, they were both armed and well mounted. Part of their route lay through a settlement highly disaffected to the American cause.

When in the midst of this, having, in consequence of a shower of rain, thrown around them their cloaks, which concealed their uniforms, they were suddenly encountered by a detachment of tories.

The young American, determined to die rather than become a prisoner, especially to men whom he held in abhorrence for disloyalty to their country, and the generous Briton resolved not to survive one by whom he had been distinguished and treated so kindly, they both together, with great spirit and self-possession, charged the royalists, having first made signals in their rear, as if directing others to follow them;

and thus, without injury on either side, had the address and good fortune to put the party to flight.

Arriving in safety at their place of destination, what was their surprise and augmented satisfaction, on finding, from some questions proposed by the American officer's father, that they were first cousins!

With increasing delight the young Briton passed several weeks in the family of his kinsman, where the writer of this narrative saw him daily, and often listened, with the rapture of a child, to the checkered story of his military adventures.

To heighten the occurrence, and render it more romantic, the American officer had a sister, beautiful and accomplished, whose heart soon felt for the gallant stranger, more than the affection due to a cousin. The attachment was mutual.

But here the adventure assumes a tragical cast. The youthful foreigner, being exchanged, was summoned to return to his regiment. The message was fatal to his peace. But military honour demanded the sacrifice; and the lady, generous and high-minded as himself, would not be instrumental in dimming his laurels.

The parting scene was a high-wrought picture of tenderness and sorrow. On taking leave, the parties mutually bound themselves, by a solemn promise, to

remain single a certain number of years, in the hope that an arrangement contemplated might again bring them together. A few weeks afterwards, the lady expired under an attack of small pox. The fate of the officer we never learnt.

The battle of the Eutaw springs being terminated, the movements of the two hostile armies which followed, were nearly the same, part of them, however, arising from very different motives, that had taken place after the action at Guilford court-house.

In the present instance, general Greene gained the victory and kept the field. But to procure water for his suffering troops, whose canteens had been emptied early in the action, and, there being no springs or rivulets on the battle ground, he was obliged to fall back, immediately, to a position that was several miles in his rear.

Encamping here for the night, he determined, after the requisite refreshment of his army, to return without delay, and compel the enemy to another engagement.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, the American light troops under Lee and Marion, received orders to march circuitously, and gain a position in the British rear.

The object of this movement was twofold; to intercept such reinforcements as might be advancing from Charleston; and to prevent the retreat of colonel Stuart within the lines of that fortress.

But the British leader was too much weakened, to risk himself any longer in the neighbourhood of his adversary. Conscious that he was indebted to accident for his preservation in the last, he plainly foresaw, that another encounter would effectuate his ruin.

So prompt was he, therefore, in his measures, and so precipitate in his movements, that, leaving his sick and wounded behind him, he made good his retreat, before the American commander could reach him. The only injury he received in his flight, was from Lee and Marion, who cut off part of his rear guard, galled him in his flanks, killed several, and made a number of prisoners.

Such was the issue of the battle of Eutaw. Like that of every other fought by general Greene, it manifested, in him, judgment and sagacity of the highest order. It proved definitively, that he never erred, in selecting the moment to strike his opponent.

Although he was repeatedly forced from the field, it may be truly said of that officer, that he never *lost* an action—the consequences, at least, being always

in his favour. In no instance did he fail to reduce his enemy to a condition, relatively much worse, than that in which he met him; his own condition, of course, being relatively improved. Hence, unless where the foe received reinforcements, he was, in every instance, solicitous to renew the battle; to avoid which, his adversary uniformly retreated.

More conclusive evidence of the ability and good conduct of a military chief, in the discharge of his duty, can no where be found. Whether, in the mode of warfare necessary to be adopted, a commander retreat, advance, delay, give battle, or avoid it, his only object is, to better himself relatively; in doing which a sufficient number of times, he is sure to triumph.

Such was the never-failing issue of every plan of military operations, which Greene devised and deliberately pursued.

From the crossing of the Catawba, he retreated before lord Cornwallis, until the battle of Guilford, when the state of things was reversed, and his lordship was compelled to become the retreating party.

Although driven from the field, by lord Rawdon, at Hobkirk's hill, that officer, soon afterwards finding himself unable to maintain his ground, fell back towards Charleston.

Repulsed from Ninety-six, and pursued by the same commander, that fortress was notwithstanding immediately evacuated, and his lordship obliged to retrograde for safety.

And finally, of the battle of the Eutaw springs, the last essay in arms, in which it was the fortune of Greene to command, the issue was, the abandonment, by the enemy, of the whole of South Carolina, except the post of Charleston and its vicinity.

Unable to bring the foe again into the field, and his army, from fatigue and exposure, becoming exceedingly unhealthy, the better to provide for his sick and wounded, and preserve from disease the remainder of his troops, he returned, by easy marches, to his late salubrious encampment, on the high hills of Santee.

## CHAPTER X.

Disappointed, in the promised co-operation of the French sea and land forces, for the entire recovery of the southern department, general Greene determines, again, to attempt it, single-handed—moves from the high hills, and takes post in the neighbourhood of Charleston—confines the enemy to their lines—meditates daring enterprises against them—projects an attack on St. John's island—one of the most arduous, bold, and magnificent, that marked the course of the revolutionary war—account of.—Reinforcements arrive from the North.—Expedition against the enemy in Georgia, led by general Wayne—the character of that officer—his successes and reverses—augments his reputation—discontents in the army of Greene—a conspiracy formed to deliver him to the enemy—discovered, quelled, and the ringleader put to death—the remainder desert to the enemy.—No native American engaged in the plot—colonel Laurens exchanged before his turn—difficulties in relation to assigning him a command—Greene's anxiety on the subject—makes an arrangement in behalf of Laurens—the discontent excited by it—Greene adheres to his purpose.—The officers of Lee's legion resign.—On a suggestion from Greene, they withdraw their resignation, and refer their wrongs to congress.—General Leslie, now holding the chief command of the British forces in the south, proposes, in a letter to general Greene, to relinquish all further marauding excursions, on condition that he be permitted to purchase, at a fair price, provision for his troops—Greene is anxious to accede to the proposal; but the civil authority of South Carolina, whose business it was to decide, refuse—plundering invasions continued.—In repelling the last of them, colonel Laurens is killed.—The character of that officer.—He fell a sacrifice to the short sighted policy of his native state.—Charleston evacuated—the American army enters as the British retire—the joy of the inhabitants—the reception of Greene—gratitude shown him—addresses from different bodies—arrangements to gratify and amuse him—his extreme modesty—reflections on his situation.

THE autumnal fever prevailing extensively in the lower country, General Greene continued in his pre-

sent favourite and healthy position, until after the capture of lord Cornwallis.

He had received a promise, that on the occurrence of that event, the French fleet, with a part of the land forces on board, leaving the Chesapeake, and passing round to Charleston, would co-operate with him, in the entire recovery of the Southern department. But for reasons which were neither satisfactory nor liberal, this engagement, although deliberate and positive, was not fulfilled; the French admiral refusing his services.

With the stipulated aid, the expulsion of the foe from the three southern states would have been certain and easy. Even without it, the American commander still believed, that he could force them from North Carolina and Georgia, confining them within the lines of Charleston alone.

Chagrined by disappointment in an enterprise, which promised a result so decisive and glorious, he resolved to remain no longer inactive, but, inconsiderable in numbers as his forces were, to renew the contest single handed. With this determination he decamped from the high hills, about the middle of November, and once more took post in the neighbourhood of the enemy.



The British had established, at Dorchester, a strong post, containing in regulars and Tories near a thousand men, besides a large amount of military stores.

With a view to strike, and carry this important garrison by surprise, Greene, leaving his main army, placed himself at the head of his cavalry, supported by two hundred infantry, and advanced on it through by-ways with the utmost secrecy.

But the inhabitants of the neighbouring district being mostly royalists, the enemy were informed of his approach; and he found them, therefore, prepared for defence. A part of them had even the audacity to sally from their lines, to try their strength with him in open combat. But they were fiercely charged, and without any loss on the part of the Americans, driven back on their works, with considerable slaughter.

Without attempting any thing further, or waiting until operations should be commenced against them, they burnt their stores, on the following night, and retreated precipitately towards the lines of Charleston.

Disappointed in this favourite enterprise, which, to give it the greater certainty and effect, he had conducted in person, he returned to the encampment of the main army at the Round O.

Here, with the exception of the light troops under Lee and Marion, which were constantly on the alert, and often in action, to protect the country from the predatory excursions of the British horse, the army of Greene was comparatively unemployed. But very different was the case with regard to his own prolific and enterprising mind. At no former period had that been more uninterruptedly or intensely engaged.

His schemes of adventure devised against the enemy were daring and original. Unprovided as he was with a maritime force, he, notwithstanding, meditated an attack, by land and water, on the garrison in Charleston, commanded now by major general Leslie. His plan was, to float a select detachment of troops down the Ashley river, in the night; to enter the city in that quarter, at a given hour, concurrently with an assault on the lines in front.

Although obstacles insuperable prevented any actual attempt at the accomplishment of this scheme, the conception of it alone bore testimony to the intrepidity and abundant resources of the general's mind; and, an apprehension that something of the kind was intended, produced among the enemy, who now associated with the name of Greene every thing that was formidable, great uneasiness. Invincible as they had

found himself, they began to believe that nothing could resist him; but, that by stratagem or force, he was destined to accomplish whatever he might attempt. When an officer has thus subdued the spirit of his enemy, his ascendancy is complete; and the fault is his own, if he does not destroy them.

But the most magnificent enterprise, both in its nature and probable effects, which was at any time meditated by general Greene, and perhaps the most daring that marked the course of the revolutionary war, was that against a strong detachment of the British in St. John's island, under the command of colonel Craig.

In the whole of this adventure, which, although romantic in appearance, was perfectly feasible, the late general (then colonel) Lee had a deep concern. In no other way, therefore, can we render our readers so perfectly acquainted with it, as by communicating it to them in that officer's words.

"We have before mentioned, that major, now lieutenant colonel Craig, had taken possession of St. John's island, with a respectable detachment. Lee was ordered, when detached towards that island, to take measures for ascertaining with exactness the strength and position of Craig, with his customary precautions against surprise, and his manner of dis-

charging the duties which his situation imposed. This service was undertaken with all that zeal and diligence which the mandates of a chief so enlightened and so respected, and an enterprise more brilliant than all the past exploits in the course of the southern war, could claim. Some weeks were assiduously devoted to the acquiring of a clear comprehension of this arduous and grand design, with an exact knowledge of the complicated means necessary to its execution: in the mean time, demonstrations were made and reports circulated, exhibiting a settled plan in the general of passing Ashley river, to be ready to fall upon Charleston as soon as the reinforcement under St. Clair, now approaching, should arrive.

“Lieutenant colonel Craig, with his infantry, was posted at a plantation not far from the eastern extremity of the island. The cavalry were cantoned six or seven miles from the infantry, at different farm-houses in its western quarter. At low water the inlet dividing St. John’s from the main was passable by infantry at two points only, both familiar to the enemy. That at the western extremity of the island was full of large rocks, and could be used only in the day, it being necessary carefully to pick your route, which in the deep water was from rock to rock. About midway between the eastern and western extremities

was the other, where no natural difficulty occurred, and in the last of the ebb tide the depth of water was not more than *waist high*. This was guarded by two galleys, the one above and the other below it; and both within four hundred yards of each other, as near to the ford as the channel would permit.

“Lee’s examination of their position, together with his observation of the manner in which the captains of the galleys performed night duty, suggested the practicability of passing between the galleys with infantry unperceived. As soon as general Greene became satisfied that this difficulty could be surmounted he determined to hazard the attempt if a proper place for the cavalry to swim across, could be ascertained. But the deep marshes which lined the shores seemed at first likely to prevent the approach of the horse. At length major Eggleston, commanding the legionary cavalry, discovered a practicable route some distance below the galleys. He ordered one or two of his dragoons to swim to the opposite shore in the night to select firm ground, and to erect small stakes as beacons to guide the cavalry where first to strike the shore of the island. This was duly executed, and reported accordingly to the general.

“The day was now fixed for making the attempt, and preparatory orders were issued. Lieutenant colo-

nel Lee, with the light corps acting under him, being insufficient in strength, a detachment of infantry from the army was made ready and placed under lieutenant colonel Laurens, who was ordered to join Lee at a given point, when on his march to the theatre of action.

“The plantation on which lieutenant colonel Craig had encamped was intersected by many ditches, as was usual in the cultivated grounds of South Carolina near the sea. One of these stretched along the front of the British camp, about one hundred yards distant from it, which afforded sufficient space for the infantry of Craig to display in line, and which the assailants did not doubt the lieutenant colonel would seize as soon as he should discover their advance.

“To compensate in some measure for the advantage which the ground afforded to the enemy, the infantry of the attacking corps was rendered superior by one fifth to that to be assaulted.

“Lieutenant colonel Craig, although to all appearance protected from annoyance by his insulated situation, did not neglect the necessary precautions for his safety; nor did he permit any relaxation in discipline, or any diminution of vigilance. The chance of surprising him was not encouraging; but being very desirable and possible, it was determined that it

should be attempted. On the road leading from the ford, protected by the galleys, Craig had placed a picquet, about a mile from the galleys; and two miles further on was another, at the point where the road last mentioned ran longitudinally through the island. On the left of this point of intersection, Craig was encamped, three or four miles from it towards Charleston; and on the right of the same point were the cavalry, a few miles distant towards the western extremity of the island. Our plan was as follows. As soon as the infantry should effect its passage into the island, an officer of cavalry, who had been directed for the purpose to accompany lieutenant colonel Lee, was then to return to major Eggleston with orders for the cavalry to pass to the island, and wait for the infantry near to the road of march, which took a direction inclining to the landing place of the horse.

“The first picquet was to be approached with the utmost secrecy, and then to be forced with vigor by the van, which was ordered to spread itself for the purpose of preventing the escape of any individual; and the cavalry had directions to take measures to intercept every person who might endeavour to pass in their direction. We flattered ourselves with possessing the picquet without much resistance; and

knowing that Craig was too remote to hear the firing, should any occur, we hoped by the interception of every fugitive to stop all communication with him.

“The second picquet was to be avoided, which with proper care was feasible; when the infantry, supported by one troop of horse, was to advance upon Craig, while Eggleston with the residue of the dragoons would fall upon the enemy’s cavalry. Succeeding in both points, the main body could not escape the meditated surprise, which would give to us an easy victory: failing in arresting every individual of the post, or in evading the last picquet, Craig would be advised of our approach, and would be prepared to receive us. In the latter event, we intended, by turning one of his flanks, in case he threw himself into the ditch,—of which, from our knowledge of his character, no doubt could exist,—to force him to change his front; and we were so thoroughly satisfied with the character of our troops as to assume it as a fact, that no corps, even of equal force, could execute the manœuvre in our face without being destroyed. In this opinion Greene concurred, and on its accuracy was rested the issue of the enterprise. However such a conclusion may wear the appearance of arrogance, it does not merit the reproach. The veteran troops in the Southern army had attained the highest grade



of discipline. Every soldier as well as officer was conscious of his acquirements, and had experienced their good effect. They also knew that victory was not only the sure reward of every man's doing his duty in battle, but they were convinced that each man's personal safety was promoted by the same course.

“Thus persuaded, they were habitually actuated by the determination of confiding entirely in their leader, their discipline, and their valor. Such troops will generally succeed, and, upon this occasion, could scarcely fail: for the major part of Craig's infantry had long been in garrison at Wilmington, where they never had seen an enemy in arms; and his cavalry were known to be very inferior to the American horse, and were separated from the infantry. To reckon, therefore, upon victory, did not manifest presumption; but only showed that Lee and Laurens duly appreciated the advantages they possessed, and were willing to stake their reputation and lives on the correctness of the estimate they had formed of them.

“The day appointed for the execution of the enterprise now arrived (21st December). Lieutenant colonel Laurens moved with his detachment from the main body towards the Ashley river, for the ostensi-

ble purpose of passing the river and taking post in the neighbourhood of Dorchester. Halting near Bacon's bridge until late in the evening, he counter-marched, as if returning to camp, when after night-fall he turned to his left, taking the route prescribed for his junction with Lee. The latter officer moved in the same evening from his position at M'Queen's plantation, and about nine P. M. reached the rendezvous, where he was met with precision by Laurens. The troops halted, and took the last meal for twenty-four hours, after which they were called to arms and were made acquainted with the destined object. They were told, that the enterprise before them was replete with difficulties; that the most powerful of the many which attended it would be met at the threshold; that this was to be encountered by the infantry, and could be overcome only by profound silence and strict obedience to orders. Success in the first step would in all probability lead to complete victory; inasmuch as the enemy was inferior in number, divided in position, and safe, in his own presumption, from his insular situation. That the plan of operations had been approved by the general; and the troops now united had been honoured by his selection of them for the purpose of concluding the campaign in a manner worthy of the zeal, courage and

patience displayed by the army in all preceding scenes. They were assured that every difficulty had been well weighed; the best intelligence with the best guides had been procured; and that they could not be disappointed in reaping a rich harvest of glory, unless the commandants had deceived themselves in their estimate of their intrepidity and discipline. A burst of applause ensued from the ranks, evincing the delight which all felt in knowing that victory was certain, unless lost by their misbehaviour.

“The disposition for battle was now made. The infantry was arrayed in two columns: that of Lee forming the right, that of Laurens the left. The cavalry were also divided into two squadrons: one third under Armstrong was attached to the infantry; while the other two thirds, under Eggleston, were appropriated to strike at the enemy’s dragoons, with orders as soon as they were secured to hasten to the support of the infantry.

“Every necessary arrangement having been made, we resumed our march; and, after a few miles move, the cavalry filed to our left to gain its station on the river. Within an hour from this separation, we got near to the marsh, which on this side lines the river in the place where the infantry was to pass. Here the infantry again halted and deposited their knap-

sacks, and the officers, dismounting, left their horses. Dr. Skinner, of the legion infantry, who considered fighting as no part of his business, was indulged in his request of being intrusted with the charge of the baggage. The detachment again moved; every man in his place; and every officer enjoined to take special care to march in sight of his preceding section, lest in the darkness of the night a separation might happen.

“After some time our guides informed us that we were near the marsh. This intelligence was communicated from section to section, and the columns were halted, as had been previously concerted, that every officer and soldier might pull off boots and shoes to prevent the splashing which they produced when wading through water, to be resumed when we reached the opposite shore. The order was instantly and cheerfully executed by the troops. Entering on the marsh, we moved very slowly, every man exerting himself to prevent noise. The van, under Rudolph, reached the shore, and proceeded, in conformity to orders, without halting into the river. Lee coming up with the head of the column, accompanied by lieutenant colonel Laurens, halted and directed a staff officer to return and see that the sections were all up. We now enjoyed the delightful pleasure of

hearing the sentinels from each galley crying "*all is safe,*" when Rudolph with the van was passing between them.

"No circumstance could have been more exhilarating, as we derived from it a conviction that the difficulty most to be apprehended would be surmounted, and every man became persuaded from the evidence of his own senses, that an enemy assailable only in this way would be found off his guard, and, therefore, that victory was certain. At this moment the staff officer returned with information that the rear column was missing. Laurens immediately went back to the high land with some of the guides and staff officers to endeavour to find it. The affliction produced by this communication is indescribable. At the very moment when every heart glowed with anticipations of splendid glory, an incident was announced which menaced irremediable disappointment.

"Hour after hour passed; messengers occasionally coming in from Laurens, and no intelligence gained respecting the lost column. At length the tide, which was beginning flood when the van passed, had now risen so high as to compel the recal of Rudolph, even had not the morning been too far spent to admit perseverance in the enterprise. A sergeant was sent

across the inlet with orders for the return of the van, and the column retired.

“Rudolph found the water, which had not reached the waist as he passed, up to the breast as he returned. Nevertheless every man got back safe; the tallest assisting the lowest, and the galley sentinels continuing to cry “all safe.” We soon regained our baggage, where large fires were kindled, and our wet troops dried themselves. Here we met general Greene, who had, in conformity with his plan, put his army in motion to draw near to the theatre of action, lest a body of troops might be pushed across the Ashley to intercept the attacking corps in its retreat from the island; and with a view of compelling the galleys to abandon their station, that Lee might retire on the next low tide where he had passed, it being the most convenient route. He received with regret the unexpected intelligence, rendered the more so, as he was well assured that the enemy would learn the intended enterprise, and, therefore, that it could never be again attempted.

“As soon as the day broke, the last column,—which had been completely bewildered, and was, if possible, more unhappy at the occurrence than were its chagrined comrades,—regained the road taken in the night, and was now discerned by those who had

been searching for it. Laurens returned with it to our baggage ground, most unhappy of the unhappy.

“On inquiry it was ascertained that the leading section, instead of turning into the marsh, continued along the road, which led to a large plantation. Here the error was discovered, to which was added another. Instead of retracing his steps, the senior officer, from his anxiety to rejoin without delay, took through the fields under the guidance of a negro, it being the nearest route, and again got lost, so very dark was the night; nor was he even able to reach the road until directed by day light.

“Thus was marred the execution of an enterprise surpassed by none throughout our war in grandeur of design, and equalled by few in the beneficial effects sure to result from its successful termination. Censure attached no where; for every precaution had been adopted to guard against the very incident which did occur, and, dark as was the night, the troops had nearly completed the most difficult part of the march without the least interruption. The officer of the leading section of Laurens’ column was among the most attentive and trust-worthy in the army, and yet the blunder was committed by him which led to our disappointment. The whole corps lamented the deranging occurrence, especially Laurens, who re-

proached himself with having left his column, presuming the accident would not have happened had he continued in his station. This presumption may be correct, as that officer was singularly attentive to his duty; and yet his absence being necessary, it could not be better supplied than it was. The passage of the river was the essential point, that on which the expedition hung; and Laurens being second in command, it was deemed prudent,—as lieutenant colonel Lee would necessarily pass with the front column for the purpose of directing those measures intended to be applied against the enemy's picquet the moment our rear reached the island,—that lieutenant colonel Laurens should repair to the river, and there continue to superintend the troops as they entered into the water, lest the sections might crowd on each other, and thus increase the noise, a consequence to be dreaded and guarded against; or, by entering too high up or too low down the stream, miss the ford and get into deep water.

“Laurens left his column by order to give his personal superintendence to this delicate operation; and, therefore, was entirely exempted from any participation in the production of the unlucky accident which occurred.



“General Greene assuaged the sorrow which the baffled troops so keenly felt, by thanking them as they arrived for the exemplary manner in which they had conducted themselves, and for the ardent zeal they had displayed in the abortive attempt to execute the enterprise committed to their skill and courage. He lamented the disappointment which had occurred, but declared it to be owing to one of those incidents which so often take place in war, and against which upon this occasion every precaution had been adopted which prudence could suggest. He attributed the accident to the darkness of the night, and, by commending all, forbad the censure of any. Not satisfied with this oral declaration to the troops, the general on his return to camp, addressed a letter to each of the lieutenant colonels, repeating his thanks to them and to their respective corps.

“How often do we find military operations frustrated by the unaccountable interposition of accident, when every exertion in the power of the commander has been made to prevent the very interruption which happens? No doubt these incidents generally spring from negligence or misconduct; and, therefore, might be considerably diminished, if not entirely arrested, by unceasing attention. When the van turned into the marsh, Lee, as has been mentioned, halted to give a

minute or two for taking off boots and shoes, and did not move until lieutenant colonel Laurens, who had been sent for, came up and informed him that every section was in place. From this time Laurens continued with Lee, and in the very short space which occurred before the leading section of Laurens reached the point of turning into the marsh did the mistake occur which put an end to our much desired enterprise. Lieutenant colonel Lee believing the intervention of mistake impracticable, as the sections were all up, and as the march through the marsh would be slower than it had been before, did not direct one of his staff, as he had done heretofore, to halt at the point where the change in the course of the route occurred. This omission cannot be excused. This precaution, although now neglected in consequence of the official communication then received that the sections were all in place, and the short distance to the marsh,—the experience of this night proves that however satisfactorily the march may have been conducted, and however precisely in place the troops may be, yet that no preventive of mistake should be neglected. Had the practice been followed at the last change of course, which had uniformly taken place during the previous march, the fatal error would not have been committed, and this concluding

triumph to our arms in the South would not have been lost.

“ The state of Georgia might probably have been recovered by the effects of this severe blow; as the northern reinforcement soon after joined us, and general Leslie would have found it necessary for the security of Charleston to have replaced the troops lost on St. John’s island, which could not be so conveniently done as by drawing to him the garrison of Savannah. Hitherto Greene had struggled to recover the country far from the ocean: now he contemplated its delivery even where British troops were protected by British ships, but was baffled by this night’s accident. The spirit of disaffection, which had always existed among the inhabitants of Charleston, had been vigilantly watched by the British commander, as he was no stranger to its prevalence. When lord Rawdon evacuated Camden, this spirit became so formidable, in consequence of the success of the American arms in the South, as to induce his lordship to continue with his army at Monk’s corner, until the arrival of three regiments from Ireland enabled him to leave behind an adequate force for the security of that city during his resumption of offensive operations. Subsequent events promoted this disposition, and the capture of the army under earl Corn-

wallis gave to it full energy. Nor can it be doubted that, had Greene succeeded in destroying the corps under lieutenant colonel Craig, this spirit would have been turned to his co-operation, in case general Leslie had been so imprudent as to rely upon his reduced garrison for the defence of Charleston after the junction of our reinforcement from the North. We may, therefore, safely pronounce that general Greene did not err in his calculations of restoring Georgia to the Union in the event of his success against Craig, and we sincerely lament that his bold design should have been frustrated by the derangement which occurred."

By order of general Greene, a British galley lying in Ashley river, mounting twelve guns and several swivels, and manned with forty-three seamen, was captured and burnt, without loss, by captain Rudolph of Lee's legion. On this well conducted, and brilliant little affair, general Lee makes the following remarks.

"Thus the tone of enterprise continued high and vigorous on our side, while low and languishing with the enemy. The novelty of this successful attempt attracted notice in Charleston; and such was the state of despondency which prevailed in its garrison as to give currency to opinions calculated still further to depress the humbled spirit of the British soldier.

When it was found that even their floating castles, the pride and bulwark of Englishmen, were successfully assailed by landmen, the water quarter of the town, which was accessible by water, necessarily became an object of jealousy. Every alarm in the night excited dire apprehensions: sometimes Greene was moving to force their lines; at other times he was floating down the Ashley; and in one way or another he was ever present to their disturbed imaginations."

Reinforcements, led by major general St. Clair, having arrived from the army of the north, dispositions were made, without delay, to act with effect against the enemy in Georgia.

The first object of this arrangement was, to protect the country from predatory excursions: but the chief officer had it also in charge, to reconnoitre with care the garrison of Savannah, and, should the enterprise appear practicable, attempt it by assault.

The command of the expedition was conferred on brigadier general Wayne, who had recently arrived from the northern department, and for ardour, gallantry, intrepidity of spirit, and all that urges to deeds of valour, stood unrivalled among the officers of his rank. So strong was the affinity of his soul for danger, that he appeared to court battle for its own sake, and to hold even the scroll of glory cheap, un-

less its characters were traced in blood. Yet, as a man, he was eminently tender and humane, susceptible of all the softer affections, remarkable for the warmth and steadiness of his friendships, and greatly beloved for his social virtues.

His career in the service now assigned him, was singularly checkered with success and misfortune. But if, on any occasion, he justly incurred the imputation of negligence, his firmness and courage nobly sustaining him in every emergency, and making the best possible amends for antecedent remissness, he acquired, in the end, an increase of reputation.

From this period, until the close of the war, an interval of many months, nothing occurred of brilliancy or exploit, to bestow on the character of the commander of the south additional lustre. Yet, at no former conjuncture, however portentous, had he duties to perform, or difficulties to encounter, that called more imperiously for the exercise of all the powers of his intellect, and for all his acquired experience and skill.

Added to his usual circumspection in relation to his enemy, he had now to watch the deportment, and pry into the spirit of his own troops, with a suspicion and jealousy that were peculiarly painful to him.

While employed in the active operations of the

field, his army had thought of nothing but the conquest of the foe. But a season of inaction had afforded them leisure to reflect on their own condition, which, in justice, must be acknowledged to have been extremely comfortless.

For their country they had done and suffered much; while it, in return, had done but little for them; and, in their estimation, appeared to undervalue the services they had performed. Of their pay a very heavy arrearage was due to them, and no competent arrangement made for discharging it: their supply of provisions, miserable in quality, was scanty and precarious; and, although winter was at hand, they were actually destitute of blankets and clothing.

Greene's own letters, at this period, present a forcible picture of the deplorable condition, to which the army was reduced, and the infinite difficulties he had to encounter in keeping the field.

"I would order, says he, to the secretary at war, "the returns you require, but we really have not paper enough to make them out; not having had, for months past, even paper to make provision returns, or to record the necessary returns of the army."

Again—"since we have been in the lower country, through the difficulty of transportation, we have been four weeks without ammunition, while there was

plenty of this article in Charlotte. We lay within a few miles of the enemy with not *six rounds a man*. Had they got knowledge and availed themselves of our situation, they might have ruined us."

"You can have little idea of the confusion and disorder, which prevail among the southern states. Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties."

"A great part of our troops are in a deplorable situation for want of clothing. We have three hundred men without arms; and more than a thousand so naked, that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature. We have been all winter in want of arms and clothing. The subsistence of the army is wretched, and we are without rum or any other kind of spirits."

Superadded to the deep anxieties he felt on account of the suffering condition of his army, general Greene experienced solitudes exceedingly painful, from considerations of a personal nature.

"I was well informed, said he, in a letter to the secretary at war, that you had let in some prejudices to my disadvantage; such as my being more influenced by men than measures; and that, in the field, I had neither activity nor enterprise. However mortify-



ing these things were, my pride would not suffer me to undeceive you; and such was my situation, at the time, that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, had I attempted it. My military conduct must speak for itself. I have only to observe, that I have not been at liberty to follow my own genius, until lately; and here I have had more embarrassment, than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say, that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. *I have been seven months in the field, without taking my clothes off one night!"*

Under difficulties so numerous and complicated, to keep the field in the vicinity of the enemy, and so conceal his real condition, as to hold them in check, by presenting a bold and formidable aspect, bespeaks in general Greene, such a plenitude of resources, as has never been surpassed in any commander.

In consequence of their situation, as here depicted, discontent among the troops, which was first heard in murmurs, burst forth in loud and general complaint.

Nor had the evil yet attained its climax. Part of the soldiery became tainted with treason; and a conspiracy was formed, to seize the person of Greene and deliver him to the enemy. An arrangement to that effect was understood to have been settled in a

correspondence with a British officer; and so fully was the project matured, that a party of Tarleton's horse advanced, as was believed, to the place where they expected to receive their prisoner.

But the vigilance of Greene was not to be eluded; his penetration and discernment could not be overreached; nor did his decision pause as to the course to be pursued. The plot was discovered and defeated; the ringleader apprehended, tried, and shot, and twelve of the most guilty of his associates, deserted to the enemy. Two of the general's domestics were strongly suspected; but the evidence of their guilt being insufficient to convict them, they escaped punishment.

To the honour of the American character, no native of the country was known to be concerned in this conspiracy. Foreigners alone were its projectors and abettors.

Thus was another scheme of treason, conducted, indeed, by individuals of humbler rank, but equally daring with that of Arnold, and, in the present posture of affairs, not likely to prove much less fatal in its consequences, happily defeated. At this critical moment, the surrender of the commanding general to the enemy, would have produced the dissolution of the southern army. For, suffering and deeply

discontented as they were, Greene was, now, the Washington of his troops. He held them together, and kept them to the faithful discharge of their duty, much more by the attachment they bore his person, and the pride they felt in fighting under his banner, than by the terms of their enlistment, or a spirit of subordination.

Greene's conduct on another occasion, in preventing a meditated mutiny of the Maryland line, manifested sound judgment, and a perfect knowledge of human nature.

Having already caused to be tried and shot, the only open abettor of the crime he had been able to detect, he thus expressed himself, in general orders.

“One or two, of artful dispositions, are sufficient to betray hundreds of well disposed men into errors. But the general is happy to find, that the Maryland line has nobly withstood the secret machinations of such as have attempted to mislead them: nor can he believe that soldiers who have fought so bravely, and whose character is universally admired, will ever tarnish their glory by improper conduct.”

To a soldier versed in battle, and proud of his reputation, an appeal like this, is much more powerful than the fear of death.

The most prevalent and dangerous crime of the southern army was that of desertion. To suppress this, the commanding general was obliged to be exceedingly rigorous in his government. Hence arose the frequency of executions; which, in proportion to the number of his troops, was greater under the administration of Greene, than in any other division of the American army.

Within a short period afterwards, there occurred, in his army, another event, extremely delicate and difficult to be managed.

Colonel Laurens, a native of South Carolina, and a young officer of splendid abilities, having become a prisoner at the time of the fall of Charleston, had been exchanged antecedently to his regular turn, and had recently joined the southern army.

This violation of order and usage, in the liberation of that gentleman, being considered an act of unwarrantable partiality, gave serious offence to those officers who had been captured before him, and were still permitted to remain in the hands of the enemy.

The reasons assigned for this procedure, although sufficiently specious, were not deemed satisfactory, especially by those who suffered by the act. They were, the superior services which it was alleged

colonel Laurens would be able to render to his native state, now the chief seat of war in the department of the south; and, that, being aid to general Washington, the commander in chief, he ought not to be held subject to the common rule of exchange.

In this transaction, however, which had been the work of congress alone, general Greene had no more concern than any other officer.

But, in relation to colonel Laurens, there existed another difficulty, which gave the general great uneasiness, and embarrassed him not a little in the administration of his command.

That gentleman was now in his family, and was expected to receive, in the line of the southern army, a station suitable to his rank.

From his desire to gratify what he believed to be the wish, not only of congress, but of the commander in chief, as well as from his knowledge of the preeminent worth of colonel Laurens, Greene was solicitous to confer the expected command. No vacancy, however, at present existed; and should one occur, it could not be thus filled, without injustice to other officers, who, from services rendered in the southern department, had superior claims.

The anxiety of Greene, to confer on colonel Laurens a suitable appointment, was much heighten-

ed, by intimations he had received from head-quarters. He had learnt, on authority not to be questioned, that he himself was there represented in whispers, as inordinately ambitious; that he was said to have been, of late, less communicative to general Washington, than circumstances warranted; and, that, supposed to be vain of his laurels in the south, he was suspected, like Gates, after the victory of Saratoga, to be aspiring to the station of commander in chief.

That general Washington entertained a jealousy so groundless and unworthy, had not been intimated. Nor, pure as he held the spirit, and elevated the sentiments of that illustrious man, did Greene believe such an error possible. He was not mistaken. Washington harboured no such suspicion.

Unwilling, however, either to perform or omit, an act, which, with any shadow of probability, jealousy itself might construe against him, he had resolved from the beginning, to create an opportunity, should none present itself, to gratify colonel Laurens in the wished for arrangement.

In the enterprise against St. John's island, he had associated him with colonel Lee, hoping that the brilliancy of victory might justify preferment. But

the adventure had failed, and with it, the prospect of facility from that quarter.

His health having suffered from the services and exposure of a long continued campaign, Lee had asked and obtained, permission to retire from the command of the legion. But the vacancy thus created, afforded no relief to the embarrassment of Greene.

To bestow on colonel Laurens that station, the most desirable, because the most honourable of its rank connected with the army, neglecting officers who had participated abundantly, in the dangers and glories of the late campaign, was alike inconsistent with justice and prudence.

To remove, as far as possible, all existing impediments, the legion being augmented, was erected into a brigade, and general Gist appointed to lead it, having under his command colonel Baylor at the head of the cavalry, and colonel Laurens at that of the infantry.

Here again arose a difficulty, that had not been anticipated.

While led by colonel Lee, the infantry and cavalry of the legion had been united. Long associated, therefore, in their fatigues and dangers, their misfortunes and triumphs, they had formed attachments

which it was painful to sever. Besides, having repeatedly witnessed each others gallantry and prowess in battle, a reciprocal confidence had been thus engendered, which sustained their firmness in every emergency. When contending side by side, however greatly outnumbered by the foe, they were strangers to fear, or apprehensions of disaster. Mutually, but not supinely relying, each man encouraged by support in which he trusted, and determined to do his duty, no less for the safety of his friend than of himself, they thought of nothing but certain victory.

But, by the new organization of the corps, these comrades and friends were unexpectedly separated, and placed under the command of different officers.

This unwelcome derangement of their associations and habits, did not fail to produce discontent. The soldiers murmured, and the officers remonstrated, in terms that were wanting in respect to their commander.

Greene replied with dignity and moderation; but adhered with firmness to his new dispositions.

This, on the part of the officers of the legion, was followed by an act of inconsiderate rashness. Chagrined at their disappointment, and aware of the stern inflexibility of their leader, and, therefore, without



further hope of bending him to their purpose, they unanimously resigned their commissions, and asked leave to retire from service.

Although this event was unexpected and embarrassing to Greene, and might have proved in a high degree disastrous to the army, yet it produced in him no relaxation of measures, nor any change in the organization of the light brigade, with a view to calm the discontented, or reclaim the delinquents. He simply apprized the officers about to retire, of their right to appeal to congress, alleging that that body would redress whatever injury, or violation of privilege, they might have sustained from the injudicious decisions, or arbitrary rule of their commanding general. Conscious of the purity and rectitude of his intentions, and persuaded that his late arrangements were, in the main, calculated to promote the good of the service, he made no overture to induce them to remain.

These officers were generous and high minded; but they had acted hastily, and under strong irritation. Passion had usurped the seat of reason, and hurried them to a deed, that could not fail to sully their reputation, and might prove, in the end, destructive to their comrades. They had received from their general many favours. He had distinguished

them by his applauses, assigned to them uniformly the post of honour, passed indulgently over their faults, and, through every vicissitude of situation and fortune, toiled incessantly for their comfort and safety. To abandon him now, in the face of the enemy, for a single measure, even admitting it to be arbitrary and wrong, would be ungrateful and unsoldierly. It would manifest, in them, a preference of self to their love of country, falsify that sentiment of devotion to the cause of freedom, they had always professed, and be a stain on the laurels they so highly prized.

Under these reflections, eagerly availing themselves of the suggestion of their commander, they withdrew their resignations, returned with invigorated alacrity to their duty, and referred their grievances to the decision of congress.

Having antecedently effected the conquest of his enemy, Greene had now achieved the last act of consummate generalship, a victory over his officers, his army, and himself.

The disasters of the enemy, in the last campaign, had rendered certain, at no distant period, the evacuation of the fortresses at present in their possession, and the return of peace. Besides the capture of an entire army, led by the bravest and most accomplished of their generals, they had lost, in the

south, a number of posts with their garrisons and stores, and all the territory they had previously conquered. To attempt to recover, with diminished means, what had thus been wrested from them, when in greater force, worse than a common effort of despair, would have been a convulsive and unavailing struggle of madness. Convinced of this, general Leslie lay inactive within the lines of Charleston.

The only exception to a state of perfect inactivity, on his part, arose from the necessity of procuring supplies of provision for his troops. This he was compelled to do, by marauding incursions into the neighbouring country, which were often productive of skirmishing and slaughter.

Weary of this useless effusion of blood, and having announced his intention to evacuate Charleston, the British commander expressed to general Greene, a sincere desire to discontinue these incursions, provided he could be permitted to purchase provisions for his army, unmolested, and at a fair price.

To this proposal, which was both wise and humane, the American general, had he been empowered to act on it, would have readily acceded. But to decide in relation to it, belonged to the civil au-

thority of South Carolina; which, from well-meant but mistaken motives, unfortunately rejected it.

The consequence was, a necessary continuance of predatory warfare, until it ultimately led to a very serious disaster. The accident was individual: but misfortune in war is to be estimated by worth, rather than by numbers; on which ground, that alluded to could scarcely have been exceeded. In repelling the last incursion, attempted by the British, Gist's brigade sustained an irreparable loss in the much lamented fall of colonel Laurens.

Cultivated and accomplished in person and intellect, possessing the wisdom of age happily blended with the ardour of youth, valiant to excess, full of resources, and passionately devoted to the cause of independence, a champion more chivalrous, or an officer of higher promise, did not grace the ranks of freedom.

With as near an approach to perfection, as it is the lot of humanity to attain, his life became a sacrifice to the short sighted policy of his native state.

Had the peaceful offer of Leslie been accepted, Laurens might have lived, to deliberate with the wisest, and contend with the most eloquent, in the *councils* of his country, as he had already vied with the

most heroic, that constituted the nerve and pride of her armies.

From this period, although peace was not yet proclaimed, nor had any formalities touching a cessation of hostilities, passed between the rival leaders, the ravages of war were permitted to cease, and the two armies to enjoy repose, under a full persuasion, that it would not again be interrupted, by the hurry of preparation, or the din of battle.

At length, much to the satisfaction of all concerned, general Leslie had completed his arrangements for evacuating Charleston. Although general Greene now believed in the approach of that event, and confided in the sincerity of the enemy in relation to it, he was too well acquainted with the unlooked for vicissitudes in human affairs, to place himself in any measure within the power of accident. Unrelaxing therefore, in all his measures, he held himself in a state of preparation to act, precisely as time and occurrences might direct.

It having been finally settled, as a condition of the preservation of the city, that the enemy should not be molested during their embarkation, the evacuation took place on the 14th of December, 1782, the American van entering the lines, just as the British rear had left them.

To the inhabitants of Charleston, who were distinguished for their loyalty in the cause of freedom, this was a day of returning joy, and rapturous exultation. Long exhausted, except what had been kindly distilled into it by the hand of hope, but now abundantly replenished from various sources, their cup of felicity was ready to overflow.

For more than twenty months, they had been in the hands of their enemy, subject to the restrictions of a garrison establishment, and all the rigours of military rule. Their lives, their liberties, and their entire possessions, had been, during that period, at the mercy of a foe, not very scrupulous in his opinions of right, or in exercising the power of the victor over the vanquished.

But these severities and privations were now exchanged, for freedom of action, the return of law, and the watchful and indulgent protection of their friends.

Nor was the joy inspired, by a change so propitious, embittered by an apprehension that it would be fleeting in its duration. On the contrary, it was greatly enhanced, by a confidence that it would be lasting. The circumstances under which the enemy had been compelled to depart, presented a guaranty that they would not return.

With these considerations were connected others, that were no less consolatory. For some time past, the tumult of war having been gradually subsiding in other quarters, the sword had been suffered to rest in its scabbard. Although the star of peace, therefore, had not yet arisen, the eastern horizon was brightening with its beams.

Embracing, then, in their generous rejoicings, the present welfare, and the future prospects of their fellow citizens at large, the inhabitants of Charleston foresaw, in their own emancipation, the final recognition of the Independence of their country. Superadded, therefore, to personal considerations, the joy of patriotism ennobled the spectacle, by lifting the soul above the region of self.

But the occasion, precious in its nature to the lovers of peace, and dear to every patriotic bosom, was rich in sources of tenderer felicity. Friends, who had been separated and long kept asunder, by the casualties of war, and excluded from a knowledge of each others fate, were once more united, with sensations of delight, which, far beyond the power of language to portray, must be left to the heart of sensibility to conceive. Nor can justice even thus be done to them, except by those, who, under grievous privations, having experienced the "sickness of hope de-

ferred" have been healed by the balm of returning enjoyment. Parents, wives, sisters, and other relatives, lately the victims of corroding sorrow, but now, with susceptibilities heightened by past sufferings, and frantic with joy from present objects, flying to the embraces of sons, husbands, brothers, and kinsmen, whom they had supposed to be lost, presented such a scene of tumultuous beatitude, as man has but rarely been privileged to witness. One more exquisite, it is not within the dispensations of heaven to bestow, unless the nature of our race were changed, and our capacities of fruition multiplied or enlarged.

But the indulgence of private feeling, however delectable, was of transient duration. A public duty remained to be performed, which soon engrossed universal attention. It was, with hearts overflowing with gratitude and love, to do honour to the man, to whom, under providence, all were indebted for the present intoxicating draught of felicity. Nor has duty been ever more faithfully performed.

Suddenly, as if every other consideration had escaped from the memory, Greene became the object of undivided regard. When, conducting into the capital the civil authority of the state, he advanced, at the head of a body of cavalry, no tongue ventured, at first, to interrupt the silence that every where pre-



veiled. The eye seemed for a time to be the only organ capable of action. Nor was it until that was satisfied with gazing, that the lips ventured to give utterance to the overflowings of the heart.

Expressions of admiration and gratitude, faint at first, grew louder and louder, until the vast assemblage of spectators, united in a mingled tribute of thanks, applauses, and benedictions, to him, whose wisdom and valour had stayed the desolating sword of war, rescued them from the sceptre of military despotism, and given them, in prospect, a certainty of freedom, independence, and peace.

From every quarter congratulatory addresses were presented to Greene; banquets, balls, and other festive entertainments, public and private, were provided for his gratification; fire-works and illuminations were brilliantly exhibited; and all that a liberated and generous people, in the jubilee of their soul, could devise to amuse or delight him, were expensively prepared. To crown the whole, in places of public worship, thanks were solemnly offered to the God of battles, for the various successes of the American arms, and the signal deliverance, the city had experienced.

Such was the reception of the conqueror of the south, in the chief city of the department he had defended.

In the midst of this prodigality of admiration and honour, never did man deport himself more meekly. Retiring from the blaze of public distinction, Greene alone appeared to be unconscious of the merit which attracted it; another proof, subjoined to the many before existing, that greatness and modesty are mostly united.

Were we inclined to indulge in a spirit of contemplation, a subject more attractive than that which here presents itself could scarcely be selected.

A military leader, successful in a mighty contest where the choicest interests of humanity were at stake; now reposing from the toils of war, in the midst of those, whom his arms had defended; the idol of the time, yet equally unmoved by the surrounding pageantry, as he had formerly been by the shock of battle; rejoicing in the attentions, so liberally bestowed on his gallant army, but declining the offerings of homage to himself; looking on the past with an eye of satisfaction, and regarding the future with the cheerfulness of hope; but deriving, for the present, his highest reward, from a recollection of duties faithfully performed, and the concomitant approba-

tion of a peaceful conscience—Such a leader, and under circumstances thus imposing, was the hero of the southern department in the bosom of Charleston. Moulded into symmetry by all the virtues, brightened by military glory, and crowned by moral grandeur, on a more august object the eye of mortal can scarcely alight.

The triumphal pomp of Roman conquerors, where captives were degraded by pride and cruelty, and merit obscured by vanity and ostentation, is much less attractive. Tell, when he had broken the chains of Switzerland, Alfred, reascending the throne of his ancestors after the conquest and expulsion of the enemy, and Bruce, having achieved the freedom of Scotland, present to the mind of patriotism images that awaken its finest sensibilities. But, acting on a much more limited scale, their condition was inferior in interest to that of Greene.

Shaded by laurels, derived from his glorious successes at York-Town, rendered still more illustrious by the recent victory achieved by his virtues over the discontents of his army at Newburgh, and consecrated by the blessings of a liberated people, Washington alone, in resigning his commission, surpassed the spectacle!

## CHAPTER XI.

The American army, encamped near Charleston, in the utmost want of clothes and provisions—discontent and mutinous spirit thence arising.—Charleston threatened with pillage—conduct and determination of Greene on the occasion—similar resolution of Bernadotte—Contract of Banks—Greene becomes his surety—Banks turns speculator, and fails—Greene supposed to have been concerned with him, from motives of profit.—Charge refuted before congress—result highly honourable to Greene.—Purity and uprightness of his character.—Peace restored.—Greene returns to Rhode Island—his reception there—gratified by the attention of his neighbours and friends—troubles in Rhode Island.—Spirit of intolerance towards the Tories—Greene the advocate of moderate measures—intercedes and remonstrates, in behalf of the tories.—His reasoning prevails—harmony restored—presents made to Greene, by the three southern states.—His engagements during his residence in Rhode island—sails for Georgia—settles on his estate, near Savannah, and becomes a planter—his habit of walking without his hat—is attacked by a “stroke of the sun”—his death—its effect in Savannah—his interment—funeral procession—proceedings of the Cincinnati—resolution in favour of Greene’s eldest son—that youth drowned—his flattering promise—congress votes to Greene a monument—its inscription—monument not yet erected—the spot where the relics of Greene lie not known—remarks on private character, in biography—cannot be accurately drawn, unless by those intimately acquainted with the person to be described—traits of Greene’s private character—description of his person—his family—analysis of his military character.

THE destructive operations of the war being now terminated, the army of the south was no longer endangered by the sword of the enemy. But prudence forbidding that it should be yet disbanded, and the means of the Carolinas being entirely spent, it soon

became, in a degree that was alarming, oppressed by want and threatened with famine.

This painful and distressing destitution arose also, in part, from a neglect of the public authorities of the southern states, to provide for an army, whose services they no longer wanted, and whose welfare and accommodation, therefore, too soon ceased to be an object of their care.

Impatient of their sufferings, and exasperated at the supposed ingratitude of the people they had defended, the troops, encamped in the neighbourhood of Charleston, began to manifest a spirit of mutiny. To such an extreme had their insubordination attained, that they were ready to march into the city, and supply themselves with food and clothing at the point of the bayonet. Even the authority of their beloved and venerated commander was forgotten or disregarded, in the keenness of their necessities, or the fierceness of their resentment.

To prevent his army from sullyng its laurels, by outrage and injustice, and to save the inhabitants of Charleston from a renewal of military exaction, Greene was prepared for every sacrifice, to which man could submit. He had even resolved, if violence were attempted, and milder measures should fail to suppress it, to throw himself in front of the mutinous

soldiers, with such of his officers as might choose to accompany him, and cut down every man that should disobey orders, or fall himself in the unequal conflict.

To those acquainted with the history of that distinguished prince, it is well known, that a public avowal of a resolution like this, and under circumstances not dissimilar, constituted one of the most heroic events in the life of Bernadotte of Sweden.

But fortunately, in the affair of Greene, matters were adjusted, without a resort to sanguinary means.

Mr. Banks, a native of Virginia, was now the contractor of supplies for the army. He had, at this moment, large contracts existing in Charleston; but for want of money or sufficient credit, was unable to get possession of the articles purchased.

Information of this was communicated to Greene.

So severe was the pressure, and so threatening the aspect of things, that not a moment was to be lost. The army, naked and starving, had become ungovernable, and the inhabitants of Charleston were trembling for their safety.

Under these circumstances, Greene, urged by motives of patriotism, humanity, and military honour, offered himself security in the contracts of Banks. The pledge was accepted, the contractor became possessed of the public supplies, and their urgent

wants being promptly removed, the troops returned contented to their duty.

In this transaction, so important to his country, the commander of the army exhibited much more of the virtue of the patriot, and the devotion of the officer, than of the policy of the man of the world, or the prudence of the man of business. He was led to it by the same feeling, that would have induced him, in battle, to sacrifice his life.

The sum for which he became security was large; amounting to treble the value of his estate. His country *might* assume the payment, and relieve him from the obligation; but it *might* also refuse, in which case his ruin was inevitable. As he had oftentimes before, therefore, hazarded his life for the public welfare, it cannot be denied, that for the same object, he now put at hazard his fortune and his hopes. An act so perfectly disinterested and noble, must have arisen from feelings which none but the patriotic and the high minded cherish.

But as there are said to be insects, which extract from the rose a deadly venom, so are there individuals, who derive a poison from virtuous actions. Rarely has this truth been more abundantly manifested, than in the present instance.

Banks being a speculator, his object was gain. Nor was he delicately scrupulous in his means of attaining it. He had no objection, therefore, when an opportunity offered, to abuse the public confidence to his private emolument. Being unsuccessful in his speculations, and unable consequently to meet his engagements, he finally failed for a large amount; and the investigation of his affairs did not terminate to the advantage of his character.

Like every great and virtuous man, Greene had enemies among the low-minded and envious; who, unable to reach his gigantic elevation, were anxious to depress him to their own level. Having been associated with Banks, in the transaction referred to, he was represented, by these, as associated with him generally, in his schemes of traffic. In fact, he was daringly stigmatized, as a lawless speculator, whose mercenary views should subject him to pay, from his private means, the amount of the bonds, into which he had entered.

An accusation more foul in principle, or unfounded in fact, never issued from the tongue of malice. In consequence of it, the conduct of Greene in his whole connexion with Banks, was solemnly investigated at the bar of congress, by some of the most upright and intelligent men of the nation. In this



scrutiny, general Hamilton was actively concerned. The result proved, as every man of intelligence was confident it would, in a high degree honourable to the reputation of Greene. From the witnesses and documents that were examined, there appeared no shadow of ground to arraign his motives. On the contrary, their purity and the general uprightness of his character were incontestably established. An official paper containing a decision to this effect, was prepared and deposited in the archives of the nation, and the debt for which his estate had become liable, was finally paid out of the public treasury. Many years having elapsed after his death, before this decision took place, the matter not being finally adjusted until about the year 1796, his personal influence could not be regarded as efficient in the procurement of it. It was a spontaneous act of justice by the government, in behalf of the reputation and estate of an officer, whose integrity was as spotless as his services had been pre-eminent.

It is a maxim in business, that in many instances, a delay, is as bad as a denial of justice. This, to a certain extent, was true in the case of general Greene. From the tardiness of the public councils in investigating his claims, he sustained great disquietude of mind, and no inconsiderable loss of property.

So unfaithful was the country to the feelings and the interest, of one of her brightest ornaments and ablest defenders.

Peace being at length restored, and his country no longer in need of his services, Greene, without waiting for the disbanding of the army, which was provided for by congress, withdrew from the south, and returned to the bosom of his native state.

The reception which he there experienced, was cordial and joyous. The authorities of the commonwealth welcomed him home, with congratulatory addresses, and the chief men of the place waited on him at his dwelling, eager to testify their gratitude for his services, their admiration of his talents and virtues, and the pride with which they recognized him as a native of Rhode Island.

Although Greene, from the modesty of his disposition, and his love of sincerity, shrunk from the pomp of mere public compliment, yet the attachment to his person manifested, on this occasion, by his kinsmen and neighbours, was peculiarly grateful to him. It awakened in his mind, a lively recollection of his early years, when the play of the affections gave a zest to enjoyment, and those who were now doing honour to him, as a leader of armies, and a champion

of freedom, had been his companions in the sports and amusements of youth. He received, therefore, his numerous visitants, with the courtesy of a gentleman, softened and endeared by the sensibilities of a friend.

His residence in Rhode Island was short. But during the continuance of it, he had the good fortune to render to the state an important service.

Many of the inhabitants, especially in the town and neighbourhood of Newport, had been tainted with toryism; and some of them had borne arms in the cause of royalty.

Against those deluded and unfortunate men, who were now anxious to return to their violated loyalty, and many of whom promised to become valuable citizens, the resentment of the whigs was fiery and inexorable. Nothing could satisfy it short of the banishment or extermination of the obnoxious individuals, and the confiscation of their estates. So exasperated were the parties, and to such an extreme had the ferment arisen, many of the tories having prepared to defend themselves, that the state was threatened with civil war. If any of the more temperate and enlightened of the whigs, attempted to restrain the violence of their associates, their motives became suspected, and their safety endangered.

Such was the unsettled and alarming condition of things, when Greene returned triumphant from the south.

By the liberal and well disposed of both parties, his arrival was hailed as a providential occurrence.

In consequence of his popularity, and the love and veneration his fellow citizens bore him, it was perceived that his influence in the state must be great; and from the moderation of his character, and the magnanimity of his spirit, it was confidently anticipated, that he would be the advocate of mild and pacific measures. As a statesman, he was believed to be too wise and politic to countenance unnecessary severity; and as a soldier, too high minded to tolerate insult or injury to a foe that had submitted.

Nor did public expectation, as to these points, sustain a disappointment. The benevolence of his heart extended to the unfortunate of every description. Desirous that even those who least deserved it, might participate in the blessings for which he had fought, an earnest endeavour to remove the prejudices, and assuage the animosities of the whigs and tories, constituted one of his earliest acts of peace.

Some of the leading whigs, from most parts of the

state, having assembled at Newport, Greene addressed them publicly with great effect.

He drew a lively and forcible picture of the moral duties of clemency and mercy, representing, in strong and impressive terms, their universal obligation and extensive prevalence.

He declared, that under every form of government and every ruler, it had been found politic and wise, that the close even of a rebellion should be followed by an act of general amnesty, from which none but the most flagrant offenders were excluded.

The claims of the tories were still stronger. They were not rebels, but deluded citizens, in whose defection many palliating circumstances were to be found. In the part they had acted, during the late contest, having violated no pre-existing law, they had forfeited no allegiance; and it was his firm belief, that most of them had been misled by honest prejudices. Their conduct, therefore, although erroneous and reprehensible, could not, in the true acceptation of the term, be denominated treasonable. But *were* it so, such of them as had neither taken a lead in opposition, nor been guilty of any dark and heinous atrocities,—those of them whose hands were unpolluted with blood—were surely entitled to pardon, on re-

nouncing their errors and manifesting a disposition to return to their duty.

Needless severity he pronounced to be wanton cruelty. And where, he asked, in the present case, existed the necessity for rigid measures?

Such measures could be necessary and useful only, when contributing to the attainment of certain contemplated ends.—To humble the spirit of the disaffected, and render them obedient to government and law.—To defeat any mischief they might plot against the state.—Or to prevent them from again proving faithless to their country, in case of hostilities with a foreign power.

But no such ends were now to be answered. The tories, already sufficiently humbled, were professing their obedience and soliciting protection. In that view of the subject, therefore, every thing to be desired was already attained. To press the matter further, would be not only superfluous, but unmanly and unjust.

As to the second point—the prevention of meditated mischief—the united force of the British and the royalists having been already successfully resisted, from the latter, single-handed, no danger could be reasonably dreaded. The timid alone could entertain such an apprehension; and he confidently trusted,

that among the whigs of Rhode Island, few such were to be found.

Nor could an argument in favour of rigid measures be derived from the third topic of consideration; it being extremely improbable, that any war would occur, in future, in which the native inhabitants of the country would feel inclined to take part with the enemy. Under these circumstances, to make public examples, would be to inflict punishment from motives of vengeance, and not with a view to its only fair and legitimate ends, the reformation of the culprits, and as a warning to others.

The general further stated his conviction, and ventured to pledge his reputation on the issue, that those who had been disaffected, would be found, hereafter, among the most loyal and faithful of our citizens. Their allegiance to their king had been the ground of their hostility to the cause of freedom. But the bond of duty in that compact being solemnly cancelled, they would be found, in future, to adhere with equal steadiness and good faith, to the constitution and government of their native country. Their late defection might even be regarded as an earnest of such adherence.

He further represented, that the strength and security of a nation, as well as the cultivation of its soil,

the natural and most permanent source of its wealth, depended essentially on the number and density of its population. By the waste of human life, in the late war, the population of the United States had been already thinned. To reduce it further, by the banishment or death of a large proportion of the inhabitants, would be a policy in the highest degree unwise and injurious. It would impose on us the necessity of replenishing it by means of foreign emigration. And it was not to be expected, that entire strangers would be as loyal or useful, as the natives of the country.

He concluded by stating, that it was not only customary, it was an evidence of virtue in individuals and communities, to express, by acts of clemency and mercy, their joy and gratitude for signal favours.

On the achievement of a great victory, the commander of an army pardons those who are under sentence for military offences. The youthful prince, on his elevation to a throne, throws open the prison doors of his kingdom, and sets free the guilty.

He, therefore, declared, that the blessings of peace, and the prospects of happiness, having now revisited us, to persist in a scheme of inexorable persecution against the royalists, would manifest unbecoming passions, and be unworthy of the wisdom of the politi-



cian, the magnanimity of the soldier, and the humanity of the man.

His reasoning being deemed conclusive, he proved the happy instrument of directing the public mind to its true interest, protecting the unfortunate, and restoring harmony to his native state.

On this occasion, he generously bestowed on the royalists of Rhode Island, the same favours that general Hamilton did on those of New York, and Patrick Henry, on those of Virginia. He saved them from banishment, their property from confiscation, and even the persons of many of them from the swords of their countrymen. In this struggle, his merit was the greater, as, notwithstanding the amount of his sufferings and services in the cause of freedom, he sustained, for a time, on account of his interference, the deep odium of many of the whigs.

On the close of the war, the three southern states that had been most essentially benefited by his wisdom and valour, manifested, at once, their sense of justice, and their gratitude to Greene, by liberal donations.

South Carolina presented him with an estate, on the river Edisto, valued at ten thousand pounds sterling: Georgia, with an estate, on the river Savannah, a few miles from the city of the same name, worth

five thousand pounds: and North Carolina, with twenty-five thousand acres of land, on Duck river, now in the state of Tennessee. Of these estates, the two former have passed out of the family ; but a portion of the latter is still retained by them, and is extremely valuable.

Having spent about two years in his native state, in the adjustment of his private affairs, appropriating his leisure hours to liberal studies, especially those of history, metaphysics, and the principles of civil policy, he sailed for Georgia, in October 1785, and settled, with his family, on his estate near Savannah.

Engaging, here, in agricultural pursuits, he employed himself closely in arrangements for planting, exhibiting the fairest promise to become as eminent in the practice of the peaceful virtues, as he had already shown himself in the occupations of war. For so various were his excellencies, and so lofty his endowments, that in no walk of life could he fail to be distinguished.

But it was the will of Heaven, that in this new sphere of action, his course should be limited. The short period of seven months was destined to witness its commencement and its close.

Walking over his grounds, as was his custom, without his hat, on the afternoon of the 15th of June

1786, the day being intensely hot, he was suddenly attacked with such a vertigo and prostration of strength, as to be unable to return to his house, without assistance. The affection was what is denominated a "stroke of the sun." It was succeeded by fever, accompanied with stupor, delirium, and a disordered stomach.

Being in high health, at the time of his attack, his habit plethoric, and his temperament inflammatory, the disease was violent, and its progress rapid. It was a southern complaint, fiercely invading a northern constitution. All efforts to subdue it proving fruitless, it terminated fatally on the 19th of the month.

The sudden death of a man so distinguished, beloved, and venerated for the past, and whose future life promised, so lately, to be long and illustrious, was felt throughout the south, as an afflicting calamity.

Intelligence of the event being conveyed to Savannah, but one feeling pervaded the place. Sorrow was universal; and the whole town assumed instinctively the aspect of mourning. All business was suspended, the dwelling houses, stores, and shops were closed, and the shipping in the harbour half-masted their colours.

On the following day, the body of the deceased being conveyed to the town, at the request of the inhabitants, was interred in a private cemetery with military honours, the magistrates and other public officers of the place, the society of the Cincinnati, and the citizens generally joining in the procession,

As soon as the funeral ceremonies were finished, the members of the Cincinnati assembled in their hall, and adopted unanimously the following resolution :

“That, as a token of the high respect and veneration, in which this society hold the memory of their late illustrious brother, *Major General Greene*, deceased, *George Washington Greene*, his eldest son, be admitted a member of this society, to take his seat, on arriving at the age of eighteen years.”

To the sincere sorrow of all that knew him, and the disappointment of the fondest hopes of his country, this youth, whose early virtues and vigorous intellect, promised a manhood of usefulness and renown, was drowned in the river Savannah, before he had attained the age of maturity.

On the 12th of August, of the year in which the General died, the Congress of the United States unanimously resolved :

“That a monument be erected to the memory of the Honourable Nathaniel Greene, at the seat of the Federal government, with the following inscription.

SACRED

to the memory of  
the Honourable NATHANIEL GREENE,  
who departed this life,  
the nineteenth of June MDCCLXXXVI;  
late Major General  
in the service of the United States,  
and commander of their army  
in the southern department.

The United States, in Congress assembled,  
in honour of his  
patriotism, valour, and ability,  
have erected this

MONUMENT.

To the disgrace of the nation, no monument has been erected; nor, for want of a head-stone, or other memorial, can any one, at present, designate the spot, where the relics of the *Hero of the South* lie interred!!

Having dwelt somewhat extensively on the services of Greene, in the capacity of an officer, it is our purpose to be brief on his character as a man.

To this we are induced, by two considerations.

Private character is much more an object of individual curiosity, than of general interest, or public importance. A representation of it may amuse and entertain ; but it is rarely calculated to instruct or improve. This is more especially the case with military commanders, who have been long concerned in the operations of the field. All, or, at least, most that is interesting in their lives, consists in public action. In private life, they are well-bred gentlemen, warm friends, good husbands, and agreeable companions ; but, being neither writers, philosophers, politicians, nor mechanists, they seldom do any thing more, in their peaceful character, than rest from their labours, enjoy society and govern their families.

But this is not all. It is impossible to give a full and faithful representation of the private character of an individual, without a personal and intimate acquaintance with him. Neither an inspection of his familiar letters, nor the minutest narratives of those who knew him, can qualify a writer for so delicate a task. He who trusts to such materials, may compose a pleasing fancy-picture, but can never succeed in giving a faithful portrait.

As well might an attempt be made to enable a painter to draw a likeness, by a verbal description of the countenance, or an exhibition of a few of the features,

separately, of the person to be painted. Nothing but an actual inspection of the face, can qualify an artist to delineate it. Nor can a competent preparation to paint the mind and manners, be derived from any other source.

Without pretending, therefore, to give a perfect delineation of the private character of Greene, who was personally unknown to us, we hope that the following traits of him as a man, will be acceptable to those, who delight to dwell on his merits as an officer.

His intellect was of masculine texture and strength. Sound, penetrating and capacious, rather than brilliant, judgment and sagacity were its predominant features. He possessed, in a high degree, the capacity to profit, by observation and experience, and placed much reliance on that source. Without this qualification, no mind can be practically great; no individual wise.

In his perceptions he was quick and clear, ready in his combinations, forcible in his reasonings, and prompt in his decisions.

His acquaintance with human nature, derived from history and an intercourse with man, was extensive and profound; and, in his apprehension of the tendency of principles, no man committed fewer mistakes.

Hence, of a number of schemes of action submitted to his examination, or arising in his own mind, he had a peculiar facility in distinguishing that which best suited in his present condition. As if guided by the lights of intuition itself, it is not recollected that when left to consult his own judgment, he ever during his military career, erred in his selection. However extraordinary, or even extravagant, this statement may appear, it is believed to be true. On these occasions, although deeply thoughtful, yet so rapid were the movements of his mind, that the result seemed an act of perception, rather than deliberation. This was one of the most fruitful sources of his ability as a commander. It enabled him to decide, while others were doubting; to employ in action, the time which they consumed in deliberating.

For the zeal and sedulity with which he pursued knowledge, at every period of his life, he had no equal, among officers of rank, in the American army. His portable library was well chosen and rich; and on occasions of the utmost perplexity and danger, when the probability of a night attack forbade him to undress himself, and in the midst of his greatest fatigues, not excepting the evening after a battle, he never retired to rest, until he had spent an hour or two in reading.



Of historians, Hume was his favourite; of metaphysicians, Locke; of poets, Shakspeare and Milton; of the ancient classics, Horace. The latter work he carried constantly in his pocket, and read it familiarly, partly for his amusement, and, in part, that he might retain his knowledge of the Latin tongue. For, although deprived of the advantages of an early and liberal education, his classical attainments had become, by his own industry, in the midst of active engagements and the toils of war, highly respectable. This information is derived from one of the first scholars of our country, who communicates it on the ground of personal knowledge.

He possessed uncommon equability of temper, and, on most occasions, was a perfect model of self-command. Yet he was no less remarkable for the high-toned sensibility and ardour of his mind. He was also capable of great abstraction. Hence, when preparing for action, or engaged in battle, so strong was his excitement, as to render him insensible to every thing but his duty as a commander. All personal considerations being merged in the desire of victory and the love of glory, he seemed unconscious of the danger to which he sometimes exposed himself.

On the score of morality, he was unimpeachable. Roman virtue, in the best days of the republic, was

never more unsullied and inflexible than his. Of him it was as true as of the elder Pitt, that "modern corruption had not touched him."

Conscientiously devoted to duty, he never, in his private transactions, intentionally violated punctuality, much less integrity. As a public functionary, his honesty was unquestioned, except in the affair of Banks; and, there, like sterling metal, it was brightened by the ordeal through which it passed. So sound and impenetrable was his whole moral character, that all imputations directed against it, either fell harmless at his feet, or recoiled on those, from whom they proceeded.

For the bubble popularity, inflated by the breath of the multitude, his contempt was deep. Nor had he any respect for those who covet it. The courtier and the sycophant, he held to be weak, or hypocritical and dishonest. With no time-serving disposition, or accomodating flexibility of character himself, but acting steadily on established principles, he considered as dangerous and unworthy to be trusted, all who were governed by different motives. He has been heard to declare, that he would as soon confide his personal safety to a vessel at sea, driven by variable winds, without a steersman, as the management of his own, or any of the concerns of his country, to

the direction of an individual, who did not adhere to recognized principles as the guide of his actions.

Resolution of purpose he regarded as the rampart of virtue; and the want of it, as a breach, through which, sooner or later, vice must enter. To waver, therefore, when determination was required, was to forfeit at once his confidence and esteem.

Notwithstanding his rigid devotion to business, his disposition was social, he was fond of rational amusement, and, during his hours of relaxation from severer duties, took great delight in mingling with his friends.

In conversation he was fluent and instructive, always lively, and sometimes playful. To wit he made no pretension. His powers of sarcasm were terrible. But he never, by a wanton indulgence of them, gave pain to the unoffending, the modest or the well-bred. It was the forward and presuming that were doomed to feel him; and he frequently punished the rude and impertinent, by the most poignant retorts.

When conversing with men of enlightened minds, his favourite topics were political economy, and the principles of government. On these subjects, his views, which were always liberal, had, by reading and reflection, been rendered profound. It was the opinion of his friends, that he was preparing himself

for a recommencement of his public career, in a civil capacity. Were this the case, and had his life been prolonged until the organization of the federal government, his station would have been high. Washington would certainly have invited him to his cabinet.

Notwithstanding his firmness and decision, in most things, his disposition was eminently mild and humane. These amiable qualities threw into his public character a degree of softness that was peculiarly attractive. Hence, as a commanding officer, he never acted with unnecessary harshness, nor inflicted punishment, unless where the good of his country required it.

To this trait he is believed to have been indebted for the preservation of his life, during his southern campaigns. The tories, apprised of it, from experiencing its effects, were induced to spare him, when within reach of their rifles; some of them, perhaps, from motives of gratitude; but most of them, from an apprehension, that in case of his death, he might be succeeded by a commander, who would visit their disaffection with greater severities. Such, at least, is the belief, which he himself is known to have entertained.

In the technical signification of the term, he was no writer. Yet few men knew better the power

of words. Hence, in his private and official letters, his language is well selected, and his style, disincumbered of every thing ornamental or redundant, remarkable for its condensity, perspicuity and strength. His communications descriptive of the battles he fought, are masterly specimens of that kind of writing. The enemy themselves admired and applauded them. Delighted with their simplicity and picturesque character, some of the British officers were heard to declare, that "no man in either army, except general Greene, knew how to describe a battle." Certainly no man described one so well. His letters, on these topics, are rather *pictures* than *accounts* of the actions represented.

In friendship, he was warm, sincere, and steady. As a gentleman and a neighbour, courteous, kind and obliging. Although he did not, during his short residence in Georgia, mingle much in society, yet, strangers and visitors were welcomed to his dwelling, with the open and generous hospitality of the south.

In his diet he was always temperate; at times, abstemious. Careful of his health, he often, with a view to the preservation of it, abstained, for a day or two, from animal food. This course he judiciously preferred to the frequent employment of me-

dicinal potions, a practice too commonly pursued in warm climates.

In his domestic relations, he was amiable and exemplary. As a parent he was peculiarly affectionate and indulgent, as far as indulgence can be accounted a virtue. The education of his children, embracing moral and religious, as well as literary instruction, constituted an object of his anxious regard. To make amends for the defects of public schools, which were, at that period, few and faulty, in the southern states, he employed a private tutor, who resided in his family.

In managing the concerns of his estate, he combined strict method, with liberal economy.

His appearance, although dignified, was not sufficiently imposing to be very forcibly expressive of his character. He had the aspect of a general officer; but it was that of an intrepid rather than a great one.

His stature, which was nearly six feet, did not, to the eye, seem to rise above the middle standard, on account of the roundness and breadth of his shoulders, and a forward inclination of his neck and head. His frame was muscular and powerful, but defective in symmetry. As he advanced in years, he became somewhat corpulent, which injured still fur-

ther the proportions of his person: in consequence of an injury received in his youth, he was slightly affected with lameness; not, however, in a degree sufficient, to impair materially his activity of body. An excellent horseman, he mounted with ease, and rode with elegance. Nor were there many that could surpass him in exercises on foot; and although somewhat weakened in his general health, by exposure and intense application to duty, he vied with the hardiest in toil and fatigue.

His head exceeded the middle size, and was finely moulded. His features were bold, and his visage comely, but bore no marked resemblance to either the Greek or the Roman model. His countenance was expressive of the mildness and benignity of the philanthropist, rather than the stern purposes of the warrior. His hair was light, and his complexion, fair and ruddy in youth, became deeply embrowned by the southern climate. His forehead was lofty and expanded, but his eye was by far the finest of his features. It was large and full, though not very prominent, capable of unusual motion, its colour a deep blue, and under high excitement, seemed to swim in liquid fire. On these occasions, his whole countenance was peculiarly irradiated by the workings of his intellect.

A short time before the commencement of the American revolution, he married into a respectable family, in his native state. He left behind him five children, two sons and three daughters, the eldest of whom, as already stated, was unfortunately drowned. The other four are still living and married, the son in the state of Rhode island, one daughter on Cumberland island, in Georgia, and the other two in the state of Tennessee.

They are sufficiently wealthy for all the purposes of comfort and elegance; and, in intellect and information, moral virtue, and ornamental accomplishments, worthy of the distinguished name of Greene. In society they are treated with marked respect, partly in acknowledgment of their own merit, but no less on account of their father's fame.



## CONCLUSION.

**I**N attempting an estimate of the military character of general Greene, we must derive our elements from a variety of sources. Of these, the most important are, his native propensity to the profession of arms, the rapidity of his promotion after an entrance into military life, the opinion of cotemporary and competent judges, and the number and extent of his professional achievements, considered in relation to the means by which they were effected, and the character of the enemy he was called to encounter.

He was born and educated in the bosom of a society of christians, one of the distinguishing features of which is, an adherence to peace under all circumstances, and a conscientious disavowal of the principles of war. Of this society he was a regular member; and his attachments to it were sincere and strong. Yet, in opposition to the force of first impressions, early habits, and the remonstrance of friends, he not only deliberately violated its tenets, but submitted to a solemn act of rejection, rather than forego the gratification of his passion for arms.

But, as a general rule, a predominant propensity to any one of the distinguished walks, or professions of life, if not the result, is, at least, an evidence, of a genius to excel in it. It is the finger of an instinct which rarely errs, pointing the soul to its proper destiny: the surest indication which nature offers, of a peculiar adaptation of the means to the end.

Of the truth of this, could we descend to particulars, testimony ample and satisfactory might be adduced.

It is well known, that in the case of eminent mathematicians, musicians, painters, poets, mechanics, and others, such has often been the ascendancy of the ruling passion, that no restraint, however forcible, could withhold the individual from his chosen pursuit.

From this source, then, we consider ourselves fairly authorized to infer, that general Greene possessed a genius adapted by nature to military command.

After resorting to arms, his attainment of rank was much more rapid, than that of any other officer our country has produced—perhaps the most rapid that history records.

It has been already stated, that in October 1774, he commenced his career, as a private in the Kentish guards, and in May 1775, was created brigadier

general, with the chief command of the militia of Rhode Island. In August 1776, he was promoted, by congress, to the rank of major general in the regular army; in March, 1778, he reluctantly accepted, as a favour to his country, the office of quartermaster general; and in October or November 1780, was appointed to the chief command of all the forces in the southern department.

These offices, so high in responsibility and honour, were conferred on him, not as matters of personal favour or family influence; nor yet through the instrumentality of political intrigue. They were rewards of pre-eminent merit, and tokens of recognized fitness for the highest functions of military service.

It was mentioned on a former occasion, that of all his associates in arms, general Washington considered Greene best qualified for the command in chief, in case of his own disability or death. That such was his opinion, had he never avowed it, we have conclusive evidence, in his nomination and high recommendation of him to congress, to conduct the war in the southern department. This was virtually to confide to him that appointment: for, while engaged in service to the south, it cannot be denied, that Greene held the prerogative, and administered the duties of commander in chief, as unequivocally, and under circum-

stances as critically trying, as Washington himself did, in the department of the north.

Washington's exalted opinion of Greene may be further inferred, from the well known fact, that, when accessible, he always consulted him in difficult emergencies, and received his sentiments with peculiar deference. Instances are not wanting, where, with the commander in chief, the judgment of Greene, was more than a counterbalance, to that of all the other general officers of the army.

It has been further stated to us, on authority which we cannot question, that in the nomination of Greene, as chief of the southern army, Washington experienced great perplexity. He knew him to be the officer best suited to that station, but, from his perfect reliance on him in times of difficulty, he was in the highest degree reluctant to dispense with his services from under his own immediate command. In this, however, as in all other instances, his love of country triumphed over every selfish propensity, and he permitted his favourite to march to the south.

But, the sentiment of Greene's fitness for the station of commander in chief, was not confined to Washington alone. It was universal with the American military; the French officers warmly concurred

in it; and, as early as the year 1777, it was entertained by a large majority of congress.\*

Nor was its prevalence limited here. Towards the close of the war, especially during the success of the American arms in the south, the whole country united in the opinion; and, had any fatality befallen general Washington, Greene would have succeeded him without opposition.

Even the enemy he conquered, did homage to his pre-eminent talents for war. Tarleton, who must be acknowledged to have had strong ground to know him, bestows on him, in his "Campaigns in the Southern Provinces of North America," several lofty and well deserved encomiums; and is reported to have pronounced him, on a public occasion, the most able and accomplished commander that America had produced.

But it is from the number, importance, and lustre of his actions, and the uniformity of his successes against the enemy, contrasted with the usual inferiority of his means, much more than from any other source, that the military character of Greene is to be deduced.

When acting under the orders of others, he not only never failed to discharge, to their satisfaction,

\* The honourable Thomas T. Paine, then a member of congress from Boston, communicated this fact to colonel Pickering.

the duties entrusted to him, however arduous, but received, for the most part, for the excellence of his conduct, their commendations and thanks.

Of the truth of this, abundant evidence may be derived from the affairs of fort Lee, of Brandywine, of Germantown, of Monmouth, of Springfield, of Rhode Island, from his administration of the quartermaster department, and his operations against lord Cornwallis in the state of New Jersey.

But it is the southern department of the union, that constitutes the theatre of his achievements and fame. It was there, where his views were unshackled, and his genius free, that by performing the part of a great captain, he erected for himself a monument of reputation, durable as history, lofty as victory and conquest could render it, and brightened by all that glory could bestow.

When he first took command, in the department of the south, his means were feeble, and his prospects appalling. His troops, exceedingly limited in number, were humbled in spirit, and destitute of every thing that gives comfort, content, and efficiency to an army.

Two states were already conquered, and a third about to be invaded by a foe, overwhelming in force, flushed with victory, led by the ablest of the British

commanders and amply provided in all the equipments and requisites of war.

Yet finding in himself, wresting from his enemy, or creating in the midst of the destitution that surrounded him, the resources required, he attempted from this period no scheme of military operations, in which he did not virtually succeed.

If he gave ground, or refused battle, it was only to gain time, reinforcements, or means, to make victory sure.

His celebrated retreat from the Catawba to the Dan, with his subsequent advance, and masterly movements in the county of Guilford, give evidence of the truth of this assertion. Avoiding battle until sufficiently prepared, yet, by a policy not to be resisted, preventing the foe from abandoning the tract of country where he meant to attack him, he struck him at length with such decisive effect, that, from that moment the ascendancy became his.

The spirit of toryism, on which the enemy relied, was thus extinguished in North Carolina; lord Cornwallis obliged to fly to escape destruction; and the state soon afterwards relieved from the invading army.

His advance on South Carolina, with an enemy in his rear, that might cut him off from his re-

sources and hopes of succour from the north, was regarded, by every one, as a daring, and, by many, as a rash and perilous, movement. But, events soon proved, that, replete with wisdom, it was the conception of a great practical intellect, fitted for gigantic projects in war. It was the commencement of a system of military operations, capacious in its outline, and, which, urged with skill and vigour in the details, shook to its centre the British power in the south, and effected, in a short time, its entire extinction.\*

\* In the exposition of his reasons for penetrating into South Carolina, after the battle of Guilford court-house, Greene manifested great powers of military combination.

He pronounced that movement the best that could be made; because, being least expected by the enemy, it would most disconcert them, and they would be, therefore, in the worst state of preparation to meet it.

Lord Cornwallis, said he, meditates an invasion of Virginia, and has doubtless already made arrangements to take the command, and co-operate there, with general Philips. Should he change his views, and pursue me into South Carolina, much good may result from the measure.

Virginia being relieved from part of her pressure, the enemy will be expelled from that state, *or conquered in it*, and succours immediately forwarded to me in the south.

But in case his lordship, whose army is already reduced, persist in his present determination, and join general Philips, their united force can be successfully opposed by the state of Virginia, with such aid as may be afforded from the north.

In either case, North Carolina will be free from the pressure of the foe, and can direct her means as circumstances may require—to my assistance, should I need them; to Virginia, should it be more advisable.



The policy and achievements of Greene, at this period of his campaigns, were alone sufficient to immortalize his name. Incompetent, still, to cope with his adversary, in a general engagement, he confined himself rigidly to a war of posts, compelling the

Further. Let lord Cornwallis follow me into South Carolina, with his utmost speed, I shall be so far in advance of him, as to have beaten lord Rawdon, and captured some of his posts, before his arrival. In that case, I shall be fully prepared for a second meeting with his lordship; the more so, as the presence of an army in the state, will encourage the whigs of South Carolina to assemble in arms, and augment our force by joining our standard.

But if, on the contrary, I march into Virginia, the state of South Carolina considering herself abandoned, her spirit of freedom will be extinguished, by despair, the whigs will submit, toryism triumph, and all resistance in that quarter cease.

Nor is this all. Lord Rawdon being unemployed, will invade North Carolina, paralyse the energies of that state, if he does not conquer it, augment his force by an accession of tories, and even carry his arms, perhaps, into Virginia.

Hence we shall be compelled to contend in the latter state with the concentrated powers of the enemy, without the least prospect of aid from any part of the south.

But, admitting the greatest evil that can happen, on my marching for South Carolina—that lord Cornwallis should follow me there, and arrive before the defeat of lord Rawdon—my condition will still be better than it was before my late retreat, *my* force having been, since that time, considerably increased, and *his lordship's* much diminished. In addition to this, my troops are now confident in themselves, which is a source of great efficiency, while his are broken-spirited; the reverse of which was heretofore true.

To march into South Carolina, therefore, is the true way to save North Carolina, to fight and beat the enemy in detail, the only mode in which they can be subdued, and to keep alive the spirit of freedom in the two southern states.

From this movement, then, no evil *can* result, while much benefit *probably will*. I shall, therefore, adopt it.

evacuation or surrender of every place he attempted, until, having reduced the forces of the enemy to an equality with his own, he overthrew them in battle, at the Eutaw springs, drove them for shelter within the lines of Charleston, and effected completely the reconquest of the country.

Such, in brief, were the achievements of Greene, constituting a career of successes, unrivalled in the course of the revolutionary contest, and demonstrating, by evidence clear and irresistible, that his genius for war was of the highest order.

On examining the minds of most commanders, it is common to find in them a marked predominancy of certain military qualities, giving to their characters a peculiar cast, and fitting them for some kinds of service rather than others.

One leader is signalized by his daring courage, his fondness for battle, and his vehemence in attack; another, by great decision of character, accompanied by promptness of action, in every emergency; a third, by coolness, self-possession, and soundness of judgment; a fourth, by invincible fortitude and persevering resistance under the pressure of adversity; and a fifth, by a restless spirit of enterprise, seeking adventure for its own sake.

Officers of these several descriptions are important in their places, and essential to an army, on account of their aptitudes for specific services; but they are totally disqualified for the highest stations. Their province is to receive and execute orders, not to originate them.

In the military character of Greene, no such marked predominancy existed. Too perfectly balanced for this, and exhibiting as much of symmetry as of greatness, so happily in unison were the powers of his mind, that no one of them preponderated at the expense of the others.

It is this rare and sublime equilibrium of faculties, that forms a consummate genius for war, and constitutes a fitness for supreme command. Hence, poets and other fictitious writers of judgment, always bestow it on those heroes, to whom they intrust the direction of armies or the fate of nations.

When Homer created his Agamemnon, to conduct the Greeks in the investment of Troy, and Tasso his Godfrey, to command in chief in the holy wars, each conferred on his leading hero a well balanced intellect.

Had the former given the supremacy to Achilles, and the latter to Rinaldo, although the most bold and formidable warriors of their hosts, but charac-

terised by a strong predominancy of qualities, they would have manifested a culpable weakness of judgment, and an entire want of military knowledge.

Alexander of Macedon, whose master qualities were boldness, decision amounting to precipitancy and a love of enterprise, would never have achieved the empire of the world, had it been his fortune to contend, on equal terms, with Cæsar, whose capabilities as a commander were greatly superior, because the balance of his mind was more perfect.

Where this equilibrium does not exist, the genius of the leader is so far imperfect, an excess of one quality being always accompanied by a deficiency of some other.

Such is the construction of the human intellect, that it is scarcely possible the case can be otherwise. Excessive valour implies, in its definition, a want of prudence. Decision and promptness, carried to excess, amount to a want of calm deliberation. Where prudence is the high predominating quality, the spirit of enterprise is frigid and feeble. And even fortitude and an endurance of evil, carried to an extreme, paralyse the functions of active courage, and become identified in effect with a want of energy.

It is not intended to be here maintained, that an equilibrium of intellect is essential to genius of every

description. In relation to many subjects the case must be reversed.

True genius for mathematics consists in a high predominancy of the power of abstraction: a genius for poetry, in a predominancy of the power of invention: and a genius for painting, in a predominancy of the imitative power. But mental irregularities like these, are wholly incompatible with the genius for war. Hence, no great commander has ever been distinguished as a mathematician, a poet, or a painter.

Were we to attempt an analysis of the aptitudes and capacities of Greene, as a military chief, we might show them to be composed of the following elements.

Courage, of that elevated kind, which is “infram’d by reason, and by reason cool’d”—that courage, which, not only enabled him to bear undauntedly the shock of battle, but in opposition to public sentiment, and under the imputation of cowardice itself,\* em-

\* Much of Greene’s merit in retreating, first from lord Cornwallis, through North Carolina, and afterwards from lord Rawdon, in South Carolina, arose from the consideration, that he did it in opposition to public sentiment, and even sustained, on account of it, the imputation of cowardice.

For a brave officer to bear such a charge, and, still, from a devotion to the good of his country, persevere in the measures that have subjected him to it, requires a consummate degree of patriotism and courage—a degree, which such commanders as Fabius, Washington, and Greene, alone possess.

boldened him to retreat, when circumstances demanded it, boldness in enterprise, profound judgment ripened by experience into practical skill, fortitude in adversity, coolness and self-possession in all emergencies, firmness of resolution,\* promptitude of

\* Greene had been but a few weeks invested with the command of brigadier general, when he was appointed president of the first court-martial held under congress, after the commencement of the revolutionary war.

The primary object of the court, as heretofore stated, was the trial of certain officers on charges of misconduct in the battle of Bunker's hill.

As yet no system of military discipline had been regularly introduced into the American army. The duty of strict subordination and obedience to command, was not only unknown, but repugnant to the very spirit and feeling which had induced the inhabitants of the country to resort to arms. Yet the public safety called imperiously for its immediate enforcement.

In this state of things, the task of Greene was arduous, and his situation in a high degree responsible and critical. An example was to be set, and a standard erected for the conduct of the military, which, while salutary in their effect, might be attractive in their nature. At this early period, to do any thing so arbitrary as to disgust the people with the service, might be fatal to the cause for which the sword had been drawn. Too much severity might endanger freedom from the want of soldiers, and too much lenity from the want of discipline.

To determine and maintain the proper means required all the wisdom and firmness of Greene. But he had the ability to acquit himself greatly to his own credit, and no less to the advantage of the service and the nation. In every case that was brought before him, the decision was acknowledged to be just; in none offensively severe.

The court-martial, which was known to derive its chief efficiency from him alone, was felt, in its effects, throughout the army. It aided in the establishment of subordination and discipline, and was highly instrumental in giving an early tone to the character of the military in general, which continued throughout the war, and contributed essentially to their safety and success.

decision, sagacity in discovering the character of an enemy, and in selecting the favourable moment for action, vigour in attack, enlightened prudence, which knows when to risk and when to be cautious, a tempered obstinacy of spirit, prompting to a renewal of action when least expected, and an unrelaxing perseverance, in pursuing advantages already gained, until converted into an entire discomfiture of the foe.\*

The firmness and competency he manifested, and the standard of duty he set up, on this occasion, constituted one ground of his early and high estimation with the commander in chief.

\* This spirit was abundantly manifested by Greene, on the occasion of the battle of Guilford court-house.

When he retreated from the field, aware that lord Cornwallis had sustained a heavy loss, but not supposing him crippled to such an extent as to be unable to pursue, he formed his line in the first advantageous position he reached, determined again to give battle, as soon as his lordship should arrive.

But the British army not appearing, led him to suspect that the blow he had given, was more destructive than he at first imagined. Convinced of this truth, in the course of the evening, by learning that the loss of the enemy amounted to a third of their force, he instantly resolved to become the assailant, and attack them in their position early in the morning.

Preparations were accordingly made for the assault. But a very profuse fall of rain occurring in the night, rendered a stream or two that interposed, impassable, and thus prevented the execution of his purpose.

But for this event, it is probable that lord Cornwallis would have been compelled to surrender on the field of battle.

These facts have been recently communicated to us by general Greene's surviving aid, who was with him, at the time, and privy to his intentions.

It has been elsewhere stated, that the final escape of the enemy, on this occasion, was owing to Greene's being obliged to wait for supplies

Instances, to which it would be superfluous to refer, wherein all those qualities were abundantly manifested by Greene, have been detailed in the course of the present work.

If to these we add, his peculiar faculty of calling forth the resources of the country when existing, and of creating resources, in cases of deficiency, his multifarious knowledge, his unwearied industry, and his powers of combination, fitting him for the entire superintendence of the concerns of an army and the most complicated systems of military policy, and his happy facility of attaching his officers to his person and securing their obedience, as if endowed by nature with the prerogative of command.—This assemblage of aptitudes for the profession of arms, presents no incorrect, although perhaps an incomplete picture of his genius for war, and ranks him, as he deserves to be, with the ablest captains of modern times.

from the north, before he was in a condition to pursue them in their retreat.

THE END.



## APPENDIX.

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I. *Greene's letter to the President of Congress, preparatory to his resignation of the office of Quarter-master general.*

*Morristown, 12th December, 1779.*

“SIR,

“It has been my wish for a long time to relinquish the office of quarter-master general. This is the close of the second campaign, since I engaged in the duties of this office; and I feel a degree of happiness in having it in my power to say with confidence, that every military operation whether in the main army, or in any detachment, has been promoted and supported, as far as it depended upon this department. The commander in chief has given me the most ample testimony of his approbation, and the success in every other quarter, sufficiently evinces the ample provision that has been made. Having gone through the laborious duties of this employment successfully, two campaigns; and having engaged originally in this business, from necessity and not of choice, I am desirous of returning to the line of the army, which is more grateful to my feelings, and consistent with my military pursuits. It has ever been my study, since I have been in the public service, to serve my country in that capacity in which I could be most useful, and on these occasions, I have frequently sacrificed my own private wishes, to the calls of public utility. It was well known to the congress of that day in which I accepted my appointment, the necessity that urged a compliance, and the reluctance with which I agreed to

hold the office. It was also well known to the committee of congress, who were delegates to negotiate this business, that I claimed no extraordinary emoluments, but offered my services on the same conditions, on which they could engage my colleagues. I mention those things to show, that I took no advantage of the public necessity, nor made the profits of the office, the conditions of my acceptance. I readily confess the appointment has been somewhat flattering to my fortune, but in a very small proportion to what some people out of doors, through mistake, ignorance, or design, have represented. Though the perplexities incident to the business, are infinitely superior to the benefits accompanying it, yet I do not mean to complain, nor do I wish further compensation. I am not desirous of leaving the department from a dislike to the terms of service, but from the employment, being injurious to my health—harassing to my mind, and opposed to my military pursuits. As interest was not the object which first induced me to accept the appointment, it would be my wish to resign it, even if the emoluments would be made five times as large as they are; provided I could retire with the approbation of congress, and without injuring the public service. These are the two only conditions which will determine my conduct in this affair; and it is on this account that I take this early opportunity at the close of the campaign of laying my wishes before them. There are many things in holding this office, which wound my feelings as a military man, and many others in the execution thereof, from the complication of the business, which are perplexing and vexatious; but the principal source of all our difficulties, is the state of our money—the depreciation of which locks up almost every species of supplies, deprives us of the opportunities of making contracts, or of gaining credit; and obliges us to employ innumerable agents to collect from the people, what they would be glad to furnish, were the representation of proper-

ty upon a more stable footing. Here one evil rises out of another: for by the great number of agents found necessary to procure the supplies for the army, the public expenditure is considerably increased, suitable agents more difficult to be got, and the whole detail of the business rendered more complex, and subject to imposition. From this unfortunate circumstance great murmurings have prevailed, and innumerable inconveniences arisen; suspicions of want of economy have crept in, and distrust and jealousy have prevailed on every side. The staff officers could only conduct the business by such means as they were furnished with, and the value of these depending so much upon opinion, has given birth to great dissatisfaction, from the different estimations which have prevailed at different times, and in different places. The losses sustained by those individuals and districts, which have been the most forward to supply the public on credit, and in the greatest plenty, have taught others to be more wary; and this disposition has now grown to a most formidable height, not only among individuals, but in towns, counties, and even among most of the states; in all of which such a spirit of competition prevails for the benefit of their own inhabitants, as is alarming to behold, as well as destructive to the public interest; and wherever the law of any state obliges the people to part with their property, for the use of the army, the magistrates will not put it in execution, unless the public agents are possessed of money to pay for the same. Had the currency any permanent footing, or fixed value, such are the characters of many of the public agents, that large supplies might be had upon their credit; but the unsettled state of the money, and the sufferings of those who have sold upon credit heretofore, as well as the heavy demands now against the department, leave us nothing further to hope from this source. In this distressing situation, without money and without credit, necessity obliges me to give congress this information,

and to ask their advice what we are to do? Here is an expensive army to support, and the difficulties hourly increasing, besides the preparations necessary for another campaign fast approaching, while we are without the means either to defray the current expenses, or discharge our past contracts, which are now very great, owing to the poverty of the treasury for some months past; and so dissatisfied are the people at being kept out of their money, that they have begun to sue the public agents—the consequence of which will be, an accumulated expense to the department, as well as a total loss of confidence in the public officers. So strict are the laws of some states, and so attentive are the magistrates to guard the people's property, that the forage officers have been prosecuted, and heavily fined, for presuming to take forage on the march of the army, to save the public cattle from starving, by virtue of a press-warrant, granted by the commander in chief. Nothing can be more alarming than the situation of the forage-department at this time. The magazines empty, the consumption very large, and will be greatly increased from the interior position in which the commander in chief has ordered the army to be placed in for its greater security.

I should have written to congress long before, of the approaching distress which I had reason to fear, from the scanty supplies of money; but I have been in constant expectation that things would change for the better, and I have been so much engaged for this month or six weeks past, in making preparation for the intended New York expedition, and in searching out a position for hutting the army, that I have had neither time or opportunity—Besides, Mr. Pettit's representations on this head have been so full, that he has left me little or nothing to say. Such is the state of the army, both with respect to provisions and forage at this time, from the scanty supplies of cash, that I dare not say what I think I have great reason to

fear; and such has been the difficulty of supporting the army through the whole of the campaign, that had it not been for the taxes in some states, and the expectations of them in others, it had been utterly impossible to have done it.

The earlier congress shall make choice of a person to fill my place, the better; as a new arrangement is absolutely necessary to be made for the staff on salary; which if not speedily attended to will leave the department without a single agent (except those on commission) necessary to the business; indeed, so great has been their disgust and distress, that it has been with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, that they could be prevailed on to stay for this six months past—and nothing but personal influence and the fullest assurance that a more ample provision would be made for their support at the close of the campaign, has kept them in service. This is a matter of such importance, and the consequences of a delay so much to be dreaded, that I trust it will obtain the earliest notice. I shall be happy to give every information in this, and all other regulations, (which are not a few) that shall be found necessary for the due government of this department.

NATHANIEL GREENE,  
*Quarter-master general.*

II. *General Greene's official report of the battle of Guilford, to the president of congress.*

*Camp at the Iron Works, March 16, 1781.*

" SIR,

" On the 10th, I wrote to his excellency general Washington, from the High Rock ford, on the Haw river, a copy of which I enclosed your excellency, that I had effected a junction with a continental regiment of eighteen months men, and two considerable bodies of militia, belonging to Virginia and North Carolina. After this junction, I took the resolution of attacking the enemy without loss of time, and made the necessary disposition accordingly, being persuaded, that if we were successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy, and, if otherwise, it would only prove a partial evil to us.

" The army marched from the High Rock ford on the 12th, and on the 14th, arrived at Guilford. The enemy lay at the Quaker meeting-house, on Deep River, eight miles from our camp. On the morning of the 15th, our reconnoitring party reported the enemy advancing on the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines. The line was composed of North Carolina militia, under the command of generals Butler and Eaton. The second line of Virginia militia, commanded by generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades, one of Virginia, and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen, under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of our right flank. Lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen, under colo-

nel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of our left flank.

“The greater part of this country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up on a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greatest part of which was covered with timber and thick under-brush. The front line was posted with two field pieces, just on the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence which ran parallel with the line, with an open field directly in their front. The second line was in the woods, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first, and the continental troops about four hundred yards in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hill drew to a point where they were posted; and on the right and left were two old fields. In this position we waited the approach of the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to this place, appointed for our rendezvous in case of a defeat. Lieutenant, colonel Lee, with his legion, his infantry, and part of his riflemen, met the enemy on their advance, and had a severe skirmish with lieutenant colonel Tarleton, in which the enemy suffered greatly. Captain Armstrong charged the British legion, and cut down near thirty of their dragoons; but as the enemy reinforced their party, lieutenant colonel Lee was obliged to retire, and take his position in the line.

“The action commenced by cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; when the enemy advanced in three columns: the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant colonel Webster’s brigade on the left. The whole moved through the old fields to attack the North Carolina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within one hundred and forty yards, when part of them began to fire; but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The general and field officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground; but neither

the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration could induce them to stay. General Stevens and general Lawson and the field officers of those brigades were more successful in their exertions. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost every where. The corps of observation, under Washington and Lee, were warmly engaged, and did great execution. In a word, the engagement was long and severe, and the enemy only gained their point by superior discipline.

“ They having broken the second Maryland regiment and turned our left flank, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining on our right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, I thought it most advisable to order a retreat. About this time lieutenant colonel Washington made a charge with the horse upon a part of the brigade of guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders, commanded by colonel Gunby, and seconded by lieutenant colonel Howard, followed the horse with their bayonets; near the whole of the party fell a sacrifice. General Huger was the last that was engaged, and gave the enemy a check. We retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork river; and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action, and then halted, and drew up the troops, until we collected most of the stragglers. We lost our artillery, and two ammunition wagons, the greater part of the horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to move the pieces but along the great road. After collecting our stragglers, we retired to this camp, ten miles distant from Guilford.

“ From the best information I can get, the enemy's loss is very great; not less, in killed and wounded, than six



hundred men, besides some few prisoners that we brought off.

“ Inclosed I send your excellency a return of our killed, wounded and missing. Most of the latter have gone home, as is but too customary with the militia after an action. I cannot learn that the enemy has got any considerable number of prisoners. Our men are all in good spirits, and in perfect readiness for another field day.

“ I only lament the loss of several valuable officers, who are killed and wounded in the action. Among the latter are general Stephens, shot through the thigh, and general Huger in the hand; and among the former is major Anderson, one of the Maryland line.

“ The firmness of the officers and soldiers, during the whole campaign, has been unparalleled. Amidst innumerable difficulties, they have discovered a degree of magnanimity and fortitude that will for ever add a lustre to their military reputation.”

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### III. *Battle of Hobkirk's Hill.*

“ Sir,

“ I had the honour to write to your excellency the 2d instant, April, to inform you that we were encamped before Camden, having found it impossible to attempt to storm the town with any hopes of success; and having no other alternative, but to take such a position as should induce the enemy to sally from their works. To this end, we posted ourselves on an eminence about a mile from the town, near the high road leading to Wacsaws: It was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. The ground between this place and the town is

covered by a thick wood and shrubbery. In this situation we remained constantly on the watch, and ready for action at a moment's warning.

“ On the morning of the 25th, about eleven o'clock our advanced pickets received the first fire from the enemy, and returned it warmly. The line was formed in an instant. General Huger's brigade to the right; colonel William's Maryland brigade to the left; the artillery in the centre; colonel Read, with some militia, formed a kind of second line; captain Kirkwood, with the light infantry, was posted in our front, and when the enemy advanced, he was soon engaged with them, and both he and his men behaved with a great deal of bravery; nor did the pickets under captains Morgan and Benson act with less courage or regularity. Observing that the enemy advanced with but few men abreast, I ordered lieutenant colonel Ford, with the 2d Maryland regiment, to flank them on the left, while lieutenant colonel Campbell was to do the same on the right. Colonel Gunby, with the 1st Maryland regiment, and lieutenant colonel Hawes, with the 2d Virginia regiment, received orders at the same time to descend from the eminence, and attack in front; and I sent lieutenant colonel Washington at the same time to double the right flank, and attack the rear of the enemy. The whole line was soon in action in the midst of a very smart fire, as well from our small arms as from our artillery, which, under the command of colonel Harrison, kept playing upon the front of the enemy, who began to give way on all sides, and their left absolutely to retreat; when, unfortunately, two companies on the right of the 1st Maryland regiment were entirely thrown into disorder; and, by another stroke of fortune, colonel Gunby ordered the rest of the regiment, which was advancing, to take a new position towards the rear, where the two companies were rallying. This movement gave the whole regiment an idea of a re-

treat, which soon spread through the 2d regiment, which retreated accordingly; they both rallied afterwards; but it was too late; the enemy had gained the eminence, silenced the artillery, and obliged us to draw it off. The 2d Virginia regiment having descended the eminence a little, and having its left flank naked by the retreat of the Marylanders, the enemy immediately doubled upon them, and attacked them both on the flank and in front. Colonel Campbell's regiment was thrown into confusion, and had retreated a little; I therefore thought it necessary for colonel Hawes to retreat also. The troops rallied more than once; but the disorder was too general, and had struck too deep for one to think of recovering the fortune of the day, which promised us at the onset the most complete victory; for colonel Washington, on his way to double and attack in the rear, found the enemy, both horse and foot, retreating with precipitation towards the town, and made upwards of two hundred of them prisoners, together with ten or fifteen officers, before he perceived that our troops had abandoned the field of battle. The colonel, upon this occasion, and indeed his whole corps, acquired no inconsiderable share of honour. We then retreated two or three miles from the scene of action, without any loss of artillery, wagons, or provisions, having taken the precaution to send away our baggage at the beginning of the action. The enemy have suffered very considerably; our forces were nearly equal in number; but such were the dispositions that I had made, that, if we had succeeded, the whole of the enemy's army must have fallen into our hands, as well as the town of Camden. I herewith enclose a list of the killed and wounded; among the first is captain Beatty, of the Maryland line, one of the best of officers, and an ornament to his profession. Our army is full of spirits; and this little check will not by any means derange or alter our general plan of operations.

“Your excellency will find enclosed also, the articles of capitulation of Fort Watson, which, I trust, will be followed by many other surrenders.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“NATH. GREENE.

“P. S. The cavalry and a part of the infantry charged the enemy in the dusk of the evening, and made them fly with precipitation into the town.”

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#### IV. *The Assault of Ninety Six.*

“In my last letter of the 9th, I informed your excellency, that the enemy had received a considerable reinforcement at Charlestown, and that I was apprehensive they would march and interrupt our operations. On the 11th I got intelligence they were advancing; I immediately advanced all the cavalry, with orders to general Sumpter to collect all the force he could, and keep in their front, and by every means in his power to retard their march. The enemy passed him at Congaree before he got his troops in motion; afterwards he found it impracticable to gain their front. It was my intention to have fought them before they arrived at Ninety six, could I have collected a force sufficient for the purpose.

“We had pushed on our approaches very near to the enemy’s work; our third parallel was formed round their abbatis; a mine and two approaches were within a few feet of the ditch. These approaches were directed against the Star fort, which stands upon the left of the town as we approached it from the Saluda. On our right our approaches were very near the enemy’s redoubts: this was a strong stockade fort, with two block houses in it. These two

works flanked the town, which is picketed in with strong pickets, a ditch round the whole, and a bank raised near the height of a common parapet. Besides these fortifications, were several little fleches in different parts of the town; and all the works communicated with each other by covered ways. We had raised several batteries for cannon; one upwards of twenty feet high, within one hundred and forty yards of the Star fort, to command the works, and a rifle battery also within thirty yards, to prevent the enemy from annoying our workmen. For the last ten days not a man could show his head but he was immediately shot down; and the firing was almost incessant day and night. In this state of the approaches, I found the enemy so near us, that it would be impossible to reduce the place without hazarding a storm. This, from the peculiar strength of the place, could only be warranted by the success of a partial attempt to make a lodgement on one of the curtains of the Star redoubt, and a vigorous push to carry the right-hand work.

“The disposition was accordingly formed, and the attack made; lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion infantry, and captain Kirkwood’s light infantry, made the attack on the right; and lieutenant colonel Campbell, with the 1st Maryland and the 1st Virginia regiments, was to have stormed the Star redoubt, which is their principal work, and stands upon the left; the parapet of this work is near twelve feet high, and raised with sand bags near three feet more. Lieutenant Duvall, of the Maryland line, and lieutenant Selden, of the Virginia line, led on the forlorn hope, followed by a party with hooks to pull down the sand bags, the better to enable them to make the lodgement. A furious cannonade preluded the attack. On the right the enemy were driven out of their works, and our people took possession: on the left, never was greater bravery exhibited than by the parties led on by Duvall and

Seldon; but they were not so successful. They entered the enemy's ditch, and made every exertion to get down the sand bags, which, from the depth of the ditch, height of the parapet, and under a galling fire, was rendered difficult. Finding the enemy defended their works with great obstinacy, and seeing but little prospect of succeeding without heavy loss, I ordered the attack to be pushed no further.

“The behaviour of the troops on this occasion deserves the highest commendations; both the officers that entered the ditch were wounded, and the greater part of their men were either killed or wounded. I have only to lament that such brave men fell in an unsuccessful attempt.

“Captain Armstrong, of the 1st Maryland regiment, was killed, and captain Benson, who commanded the regiment, was wounded at the head of the trenches. In both attacks we had upwards of forty men killed and wounded; the loss was principally at the Star fort and in the enemy's ditch, the other parties being all under cover. The attack was continued three quarters of an hour, and as the enemy were greatly exposed to the fire of the rifle battery and artillery; they must have suffered greatly. Our artillery was well served, and I believe did great execution.

“The troops have undergone incredible hardships during the siege; and though the issue was not successful, I hope their exertions will merit the approbation of congress.

“We continued the siege until the enemy got within a few miles of us, having previously sent off all our sick, wounded, and spare stores.

NATH. GREENE.”

V. *Head-quarters, Martin's Tavern, near Ferguson's Swamp, South Carolina, September 11th, 1781.*

"SIR,

"In my last despatch of the 25th of August I informed your excellency that we were on our march for Fryday's ferry, to form a junction with the state troops, and a body of militia, collecting at that place, with an intention to make an attack upon the British army laying at colonel Thompson's, near M'Cord's ferry. On the 27th, on our arrival near Fryday's ferry, I got intelligence that the enemy were retiring.

"We crossed the river at Howell's ferry, and took post at Motte's plantation. Here I got intelligence that the enemy had halted at the Eutaw Springs, about forty miles below us; and that they had a reinforcement, and were making preparations to establish a permanent post there. To prevent this, I was determined rather to hazard an action, notwithstanding our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. On the 5th, we began our march, our baggage and stores having been ordered to Howell's ferry under a proper guard. We moved by slow and easy marches, as well to disguise our real intention, as to give general Marion an opportunity to join us, who had been detached for the support of colonel Harden, a report of which I transmitted in my letter of the 5th, dated Maybrick's creek. General Marion joined us on the evening of the 7th, at Burdell's plantation, seven miles from the enemy's camp.

"We made the following disposition, and marched at four o'clock the next morning to attack the enemy. Our front line was composed of four small battalions of militia, two of North and two of South Carolinians; one of the South Carolinians was under the immediate command of general Marion, and was posted on the right, who also commanded the front line: the two North Carolina battalions, under the command of colonel Malmady, were

posted in the centre; and the other South Carolina battalion, under the command of general Pickens, was posted on the left. Our second line consisted of three small brigades of continental troops,—one from North Carolina, one from Virginia, and one from Maryland. The North Carolinians were formed into three battalions, under the command of lieutenant colonel Ash, majors Armstrong and Blount; the whole commanded by general Sumner, and posted upon the right. The Virginians consisted of two battalions, commanded by major Snead and captain Edmonds, and the whole by lieutenant colonel Campbell, and posted in the centre. The Marylanders also consisted of two battalions, commanded by lieutenant colonel Howard and major Hardman, and the brigade by colonel Williams, deputy adjutant general to the army, and were posted upon the left. Lieutenant colonel Lee with his legion covered our right flank; and lieutenant colonel Henderson with the state troops, commanded by lieutenant colonels Hampton, Middleton, and Polk, our left. Lieutenant colonel Washington with his horse, and the Delaware troops under captain Kirkwood, formed a corps de reserve. Two three pounders under captain lieutenant Gaines advanced with the front line, and two sixes under captain Browne with the second.

“The legion and state troops formed our advance, and were to retire upon the flanks upon the enemy’s forming. In this order we moved on to the attack. The legion and state troops fell in with a party of the enemy’s horse and foot, about four miles from their camp, who, mistaking our people for a party of militia, charged them briskly, but were soon convinced of their mistake by the reception they met with. The infantry of the state troops kept up a heavy fire, and the legion in front, under captain Rudolph, charged them with fixed bayonets: they fled on all sides, leaving four or five dead on the ground, and several



more wounded. As this was supposed to be the advance of the British army, our front line was ordered to form and move on briskly in line, the legion and state troops to take their position upon the flanks. All the country is covered with timber from the place the action began to the Eutaw Springs. The firing began again between two and three miles from the British camp. The militia were ordered to keep advancing as they fired. The enemy's advanced parties were soon driven in, and a most tremendous fire began on both sides from right to left, and the legion and state troops were closely engaged. General Marion, colonel Malmady and general Pickens conducted the troops with great gallantry and good conduct; and the militia fought with a degree of spirit and firmness that reflects the highest honour upon that class of soldiers. But the enemy's fire being greatly superior to ours, and continuing to advance, the militia began to give ground. The North Carolina brigade, under general Sumner, was ordered up to their support. These were all new levies, and had been under discipline but little more than a month; notwithstanding which they fought with a degree of obstinacy that would do honour to the best of veterans; and I could hardly tell which to admire most, the gallantry of the officers or the bravery of the troops. They kept up a heavy and well directed fire, and the enemy returned it with equal spirit, for they really fought worthy of a better cause, and great execution was done on both sides. In this stage of the action, the Virginians under lieutenant colonel Campbell, and the Marylanders under colonel Williams, were led on to a brisk charge, with trailed arms, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musket balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both officers and soldiers upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them.

The enemy were routed in all quarters. Lieutenant colonel Lee had, with great address, gallantry, and good conduct, turned the enemy's left flank, and was charging them in rear at the same time the Virginia and Maryland troops were charging them in front. A most valuable officer, lieutenant colonel Henderson, got wounded early in the action, and lieutenant colonel Hampton, who commanded the state cavalry, and who fortunately succeeded lieutenant colonel Henderson in command, charged a party of the enemy, and took upwards of one hundred prisoners. Lieutenant colonel Washington brought up the corps de reserve upon the left, where the enemy seemed disposed to make further resistance; and charged them so briskly with the cavalry and captain Kirkwood's infantry, as gave them no time to rally or form. Lieutenant colonels Polk and Middleton, who commanded the state infantry, were no less conspicuous for their good conduct than their intrepidity; and the troops under their command gave a specimen of what may be expected from men, naturally brave, when improved by proper discipline. Captain lieutenant Gaines, who commanded the three pounders with the front line, did great execution until his pieces were dismounted. We kept close at the enemy's heels after they broke, until we got into their camp, and a great number of prisoners were continually falling into our hands, and some hundreds of the fugitives ran off towards Charleston. But a party threw themselves into a large three story brick house, which stands near the spring; others took post in a picquetted garden, while others were lodged in an impenetrable thicket, consisting of a cragged shrub, called a black jack. Thus secured in front, and upon the right by the house and a deep ravine, upon the left by the picquetted garden and in the impenetrable shrubs, and the rear also being secured by the springs and deep hollow ways, the enemy renewed the action. Every ex-

ertion was made to dislodge them. Lieutenant colonel Washington made most astonishing efforts to get through the thicket to charge the enemy in the rear; but found it impracticable, had his horse shot under him, and was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house—two of our own, and two of the enemy's, which they had abandoned—and they were pushed on so much under the command of the fire from the house and the party in the thicket, as rendered it impracticable to bring them off again when the troops were ordered to retire. Never were pieces better served; most of the men and officers were either killed or wounded. Washington failing in his charge upon the left, and the legion baffled in an attempt upon the right, and finding our infantry galled by the fire of the enemy, and our ammunition mostly consumed, though both officers and men continued to exhibit uncommon acts of heroism, I thought proper to retire out of the fire of the house, and draw up the troops at a little distance in the woods; not thinking it advisable to push our advantages further, being persuaded the enemy could not hold the post many hours, and that our chance to attack them on the retreat was better than a second attempt to dislodge them, in which, if we succeeded, it must be attended with considerable loss.

“ We collected all our wounded, except such as were under the command of the fire of the house, and retired to the ground, from which we marched in the morning, there being no water nearer, and the troops ready to faint with the heat, and want of refreshment, the action having continued near four hours. I left on the field of action a strong picquet, and early in the morning detached general Marion and lieutenant colonel Lee with the legion horse between Eutaw and Charleston, to prevent any reinforcements from coming to the relief of the enemy; and also to retard their march, should they attempt to retire, and give

time to the army to fall upon their rear and put a finishing stroke to our successes. We left two pieces of our artillery in the hands of the enemy, and brought off one of theirs. On the evening of the 9th, the enemy retired, leaving upwards of seventy of their wounded behind them, and not less than one thousand stand of arms that were picked up on the field, and found broke and concealed in the Eutaw Springs. They stove between twenty and thirty puncheons of rum, and destroyed a great variety of other stores, which they had not carriages to carry off. We pursued them the moment we got intelligence of their retiring. But they formed a junction with major M'Arthur at this place, general Marion and lieutenant colonel Lee not having a force sufficient to prevent it: but on our approach they retired to the neighbourhood of Charleston. We have taken five hundred prisoners, including the wounded the enemy left behind; and I think they cannot have suffered less than six hundred more in killed and wounded. The fugitives that fled from the field of battle spread such an alarm that the enemy burnt their stores at Dorchester, and abandoned the post at Fair Lawn; and a great number of negroes and others were employed in felling trees across the road for some miles without the gates of Charleston. Nothing but the brick house, and the peculiar strength of the position at Eutaw, saved the remains of the British army from being all made prisoners.

"We pursued them as far as this place; but not being able to overtake them, we shall halt a day or two to refresh, and then take our old position on the High Hills of Santee. I think myself principally indebted for the victory we obtained to the free use of the bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the infantry of the legion, and captain Kirkwood's light infantry: and though few armies ever exhibited equal bravery with ours in general, yet the conduct and intrepidity of these corps were pecu-

liarily conspicuous. Lieutenant colonel Campbell fell as he was leading his troops to the charge, and though he fell with distinguished marks of honour, yet his loss is much to be regretted: he was the great soldier and the firm patriot.

“ Our loss in officers is considerable, more from their value than their number; for never did either men or officers offer their blood more willingly in the service of their country. I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to colonel Williams for his great activity on this and many other occasions in forming the army, and for his uncommon intrepidity in leading on the Maryland troops to the charge, which exceeded any thing I ever saw. I also feel myself greatly indebted to captains Pierce and Pendleton, major Hyrne and captain Shubrick, my aids-de-camp, for their activity and good conduct throughout the whole of the action.

“ This despatch will be handed to your excellency by captain Pierce, to whom I beg leave to refer you for further particulars.

“ I have the honour to, &c.

“ NATH. GREENE.”

His Excellency, the President of Congress.

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## VI. *Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence.*

The present work purporting to develop somewhat of the spirit and character of the people of the south, during the war of the revolution, the publication of the following curious and interesting document is so far relevant to its design.

On the authenticity of the article, it is believed that a perfect reliance may be placed.

With the chairman and secretary (*clerk*, as the latter is there denominated) as well as with colonel Thomas Polk, a

very spirited and leading member of the association, the writer of these Memoirs was intimately acquainted; and knows them to have been capable of all that is virtuous, patriotic, and daring.

Their proceedings clearly show, that while Virginia and Massachusetts are contending for the honour of having given birth to the *revolutionary spirit* of our country, the state of North Carolina took the lead of both, in a formal manifestation of the *spirit of independence*.

We need not indicate to the reader the identity of the language, which closes the third *resolution* of the Mecklenburgh declaration, with that closing the last section of our national declaration, which was prepared and adopted more than a year afterwards.

*North Carolina, Mecklenburgh County,  
May 20th, 1775.*

“ In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburgh county, stimulated by the enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the mind above considerations of individual aggrandisement, and scorning to shelter themselves from the impending storm, by submission to lawless power, &c. &c. held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were “ that the cause of Boston was the cause of all; that their destinies were indissolubly connected with those of their eastern fellow-citizens—and that they must either submit to all the impositions which an unprincipled, and to them an unrepresented parliament might impose—or support their brethren who were doomed to sustain the first shock of that power, which, if successful there, would ultimately overwhelm all in the common calamity. Conformably to these principles, colonel Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each captain’s company in the county of Mecklenburgh (then comprising the present county of Cabarrus) directing each

militia company to elect two persons, and delegate to them ample power to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure, unimpaired, their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny.

“ In conforming to said order, on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited powers; at which time official news, by express, arrived of the battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month. Every delegate felt the value and importance of the prize, and the awful and solemn crisis which had arrived—every bosom swelled with indignation at the malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge developed in the late attack at Lexington. The universal sentiment was—let us not flatter ourselves that popular harangues—or resolves; that popular vapour will avert the storm, or vanquish our common enemy—let us deliberate—let us calculate the issue—the probable result; and then let us act with energy as brethren leagued to preserve our property—our lives,—and what is still more endearing, the liberties of America.—*Abraham Alexander* was then elected chairman, and *John M<sup>r</sup> Knitt Alexander*, clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously ordained—

“ 1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to his country—to America—and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

“ 2. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburgh county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have

connected us to the mother country, and hereby dissolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connexion, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties—and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

“3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self governing association, under the controul of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the congress: to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour.

“4. *Resolved*, That, as we now acknowledge the existence and controul of no law or legal officer, civil or military; within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws—wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

“5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz. a justice of the peace, in the character of a ‘committee man,’ to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace and union, and harmony, in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.



“ A number of by-laws were also added, merely to protect the association from confusion and to regulate their general conduct as citizens. After sitting in the courthouse all night, neither sleepy, hungry, nor fatigued, and after discussing every paragraph, they were all passed, sanctioned, and decreed *unanimously*, about two o'clock, A. M. May 20. In a few days, a deputation of said delegation convened, when captain *James Jack*, of Charlotte, was deputed as express to the congress at Philadelphia, with a copy of said resolves and proceedings, together with a letter addressed to our three representatives, viz. *Richard Caswell*, *William Hooper*, and *Joseph Hughes*, under express injunction, personally, and through the state representation, to use all possible means to have said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general congress. On the return of captain Jack, the delegation learned that their proceedings were individually approved by the members of congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the house. A joint letter from said three members of congress was also received, complimentary of the zeal in the common cause, and recommending perseverance, order, and energy.

“ The subsequent harmony, unanimity, and exertion, in the cause of liberty and independence, evidently resulting from these regulations, and the continued exertion of said delegation, apparently tranquilized this section of the state, and met with the concurrence and high approbation of the council of safety, who held their sessions at Newbern and Wilmington, alternately, and who confirmed the nomination and acts of the delegation in their official capacity.

“ From this delegation originated the court of inquiry of this county, who constituted and held their first session in Charlotte; they then held their meetings regularly at Charlotte, at colonel James Harris's, and at colonel Phifer's, alternately, one week at each place. It was a civil

court founded on military process. Before this judicature all suspicious persons were made to appear, who were formally tried, and banished or continued under guard. Its jurisdiction was as unlimited as toryism, and its decrees as final as the confidence and patriotism of the county. Several were arrested and brought before them from Lincoln, Rowan, and the adjacent counties.

“[The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject, left in my hands by John Matthew Alexander, deceased. I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned in April, 1800; that a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson, in New York, then writing a history of North Carolina, and that a copy was sent to general W. R. Davies.

J. M'KNITT.]

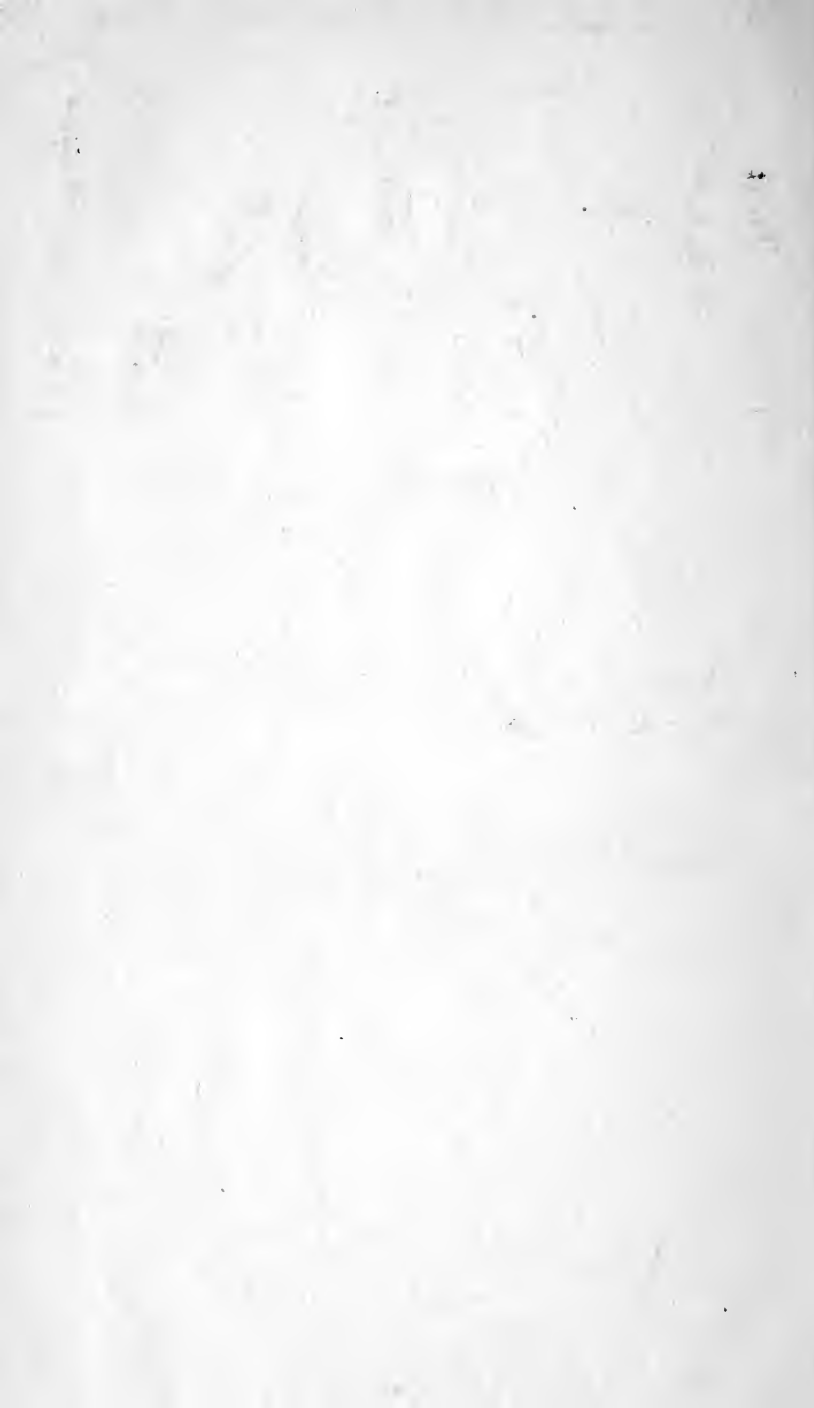














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Purchased in 1893.

